

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

MARCH ON BOSTON!

Black leaders call April 24 nat'l action to defend busing

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Leaders of the Black community here have issued a call for a national probusing march and rally in Boston on April 24. The call, released here March 9, already has the support of more than 100 prominent Black and white supporters of desegregation in Boston and around the country.

"Two hundred years of racism is enough!" is the theme of the action.

"Boston is at the center of the racist drive to prevent the Black liberation struggle from moving forward," the action call states.

"Boston is where racists and other reactionary forces nationwide get in-

spiration to advance their own attacks against Black rights. We have to point the way for the national Black community. A failure to win school desegregation here will encourage further attacks on Black rights in cities across the country."

Initiating sponsors of the demonstration include officials of the NAACP, Black clergy, and community, campus, and trade-union leaders.

In addition to April 24, the call sets the weekend of April 3-4, during which commemorations of the assassination of Martin Luther King will be held, as the time for local actions leading up to April 24.

The Coalition for the April 24 March

on Boston grew out of discussions among Black community leaders here on how to respond to the new stage of racist resistance and violence aimed at sabotaging school desegregation. They came to the conclusion that the April 24 action "is needed to produce a massive show of force for Black rights."

"Such an action can produce a great outpouring of pro-desegregation sentiments. An atmosphere can be created to allow Black students and families, and progressive whites to speak out and testify to the atrocities of the anti-busing movement."

Among the Boston signers of the call

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Women's Day rallies spark

ERA drive



Militant/Pat Hayes

St. Louis demonstrators celebrate International Women's Day by marching for Equal Rights Amendment. For roundup of actions across country, see page 6.

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In Brief

**P.R. SENATE DEMANDS RELEASE OF NATION-
ALISTS:** The Senate of the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico
unanimously approved a resolution March 9 urging that
President Gerald Ford amnesty five members of the Puerto
Rican Nationalist party who have been held as political
prisoners in the United States since the early 1950s.

The resolution was introduced by Puerto Rican Inde-
pendence party Sen. Rubén Berríos. It cites the "state of health"
of the five as one reason for releasing them now. One of the
prisoners, Andrés Figueroa Cordero, has cancer, and
doctors say he has one to three years to live.

The Senate's statement also notes "the years served" in
prison by the Nationalists. The five, as far as is known, are
the longest-held political prisoners currently incarcerated in
the Western Hemisphere.

**MEMORIAL MEETING HELD FOR SLAIN PSP
MEMBER:** A memorial meeting was held February 19 at
the University of Illinois Circle Campus for Rafael Cintrón
Ortiz, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party and a
professor of Latin American studies on the campus. Some
150 people heard colleagues and students describe Ortiz's
dedication to his work and to the liberation of Puerto Rico.

Cintrón Ortiz was found murdered in his apartment
February 9. Police say they are holding two suspects, one of
whom has confessed. Reportedly, the motive was robbery;
but details of the death have yet to be fully clarified.

Key witness against Gary Tyler recants

NEW ORLEANS—The key prosecution witness against
Gary Tyler during his November 1975 trial in St. Charles
Parish, Louisiana, now says the government forced her to
lie.

Tyler, a seventeen-year-old Black youth from St. Rose,
was sentenced to death after an all-white jury found him
guilty of killing a white student at Destrehan High School
in October 1974.

At the trial, the only person who testified that Tyler fired
the alleged murder weapon was Natalie Blanks. She said
she was sitting next to Tyler on a school bus when the
shooting occurred. Although other students and the bus
driver contradicted Blanks's story, Tyler was convicted.

Blanks explains in a thirty-one page affidavit filed March
9 with the Twenty-Ninth Judicial District Court that she
was not next to Tyler and her testimony was false. She was
told by the government that if she didn't lie, "They was
going to put it on me, and I was going to be charged with
accessory to murder and perjury something."

Blanks added, "They wrote something down on the paper
and they told me when I got on the stand to read it. . . . So
I read it, and it wasn't the truth."

Tyler's conviction is currently on appeal to the Louisiana
Supreme Court on different grounds. After that appeal is
heard, the motion for a new trial filed along with the
affidavit will be considered.

Meanwhile, Gary Tyler is still on death row. He is
scheduled to be electrocuted May 1.

GOV'T INJECTED PEOPLE WITH PLUTONIUM:
The government injected eighteen people with plutonium
between 1945 and 1947, according to a story published in
the February 22 *Washington Post*. Doses varied from 2 to
145 times the amount that was believed necessary to cause
bone cancer.

In addition to being highly radioactive, plutonium is one
of the most poisonous substances known to humanity.
Inhalation of plutonium dust can kill you in a few hours.

Apparently only one of the victims was told what was
going on. The government claims that all were terminally
ill, including a four-year-old boy who died five months after
being injected.

Of the eighteen, ten died within three years, and at least
three are alive today, their terminal illnesses three decades
ago notwithstanding. The government says it doesn't know
how it chose its targets for nuclear shots.

The Energy Research and Development Administration
claims the purpose of the tests was to gather "accurate
information needed . . . for setting safety criteria." The
project was sponsored by the "Manhattan Engineer
District," the supersecret World War II project that
developed the atom bomb.

The ERDA concedes such tests are unethical, but says it
plans no further investigation of the affair.

SAN QUENTIN SIX DEFENDANT TESTIFIES: Hugo
Pinell took the stand during the third week of February, the
first of the San Quentin Six to testify in the murder
conspiracy trial.

Pinell's testimony bolsters defense claims that the August

21, 1971, shoot-out in San Quentin resulted from a plot
among prison officials to kill George Jackson.

Pinell said he was able to see George Jackson as Jackson
was returning to the adjustment center after receiving a
visitor. As Jackson unbuttoned his shirt to be searched, he
was suddenly approached by two guards, Paul Kraseness
and Urbano Rubiaco. "Kraseness made a motion sort of like
this here," Pinell said, as he illustrated a gun being drawn.
Jackson then kicked Rubiaco and grabbed the gun away
from Kraseness.

This contradicts the government's claim that Jackson
received a pistol from an attorney as part of an "escape
plan." Earlier testimony had already dashed the prosecu-
tion's contention that the lawyer had carried a gun into the
visiting room.

Pinell also recalled that after hearing a shot, he saw
George Jackson crawling on his stomach outside the
adjustment center. This supports the defense theory that
Jackson was wounded by a shot fired from the guard rail
above him and later murdered at close range.

CAMEJO BROADCAST POSTPONED: The Public
Broadcasting Service television feature on Socialist Workers
party presidential candidate Peter Camejo, originally
scheduled for Monday, March 15, at 8:00 p.m. on the
program "USA: People and Politics," has been postponed
until later in March.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: Baxter Smith's
article "What good are Black elected officials?—'Black
World' poses question," which appeared in the December 19,
1975, *Militant*, was reprinted by the Charleston, South
Carolina, *Chronicle*, a Black weekly.

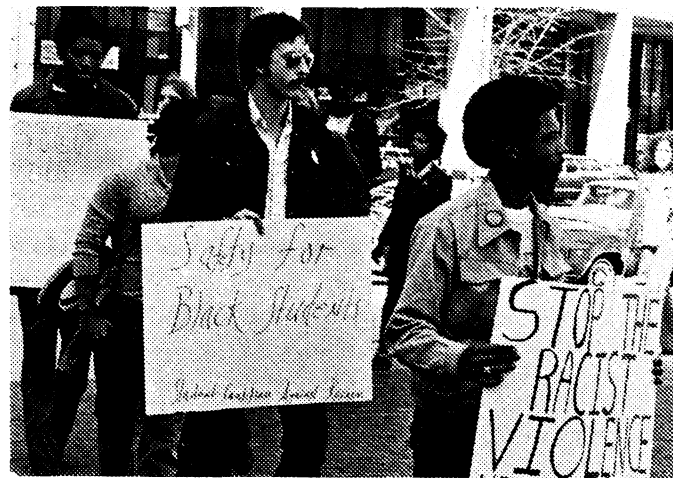
Another article by Smith, "Blacks call for a new probe of
King murder—Charge FBI conspiracy," was reprinted by
Utimme Umana—a Black student newspaper at Trenton
State College in New Jersey.

NEW OAKLAND SWP UNIT HOLDS FIRST FORUM:
More than eighty people attended the first Militant Forum
sponsored by the new Oakland branch of the Socialist
Workers party on February 27.

The forum was held to publicize the cases of Dennis
Banks and Lehman Brightman. Banks, a leader of the
American Indian Movement, and Brightman, a Native
American studies professor, are both being persecuted by
the U.S. government.

The event was cosponsored by the Banks-Brightman
Defense Committee and the Native American Youth
Organization. A collection from participants netted eighty
dollars for the defense effort.

—José Pérez



Special Offer For New Readers

Antibusing terror spreads in Boston—desegregation in
peril! Black students in Boston know it. White and Black
parents threatened by racist vigilantes know it. *Militant*
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...march on Boston April 24!

Continued from page 1

are: Percy Wilson, director, Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Mary Goode, chairperson of the Massachusetts State Legislative Black Caucus; State Representatives Doris Bunte and Robert Fortes, members of the caucus; Boston NAACP Executive Board members Marjorie Perry and Charles Beard; Rev. William Weeks, chairperson, Boston Black Ministerial Alliance; and Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Other Boston sponsors include: Rexford Weng, vice-president, Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Douglas Butler, director, Boston A. Philip Randolph Institute; Wayne Budd, president, Massachusetts Black Lawyers Association; Mothers of Roxbury, Inc.; and James "Mac" Warren, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Roxbury.

United effort

Many well-known white supporters of Black rights are also backing the action to help galvanize a united campaign to defeat the racist offensive.

Included among them are: Ellen Feingold, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; professors George Wald, Salvador Luria, Noam Chomsky, and Howard Zinn; Mrs. Malcolm Peabody; Rev. Sandy Latner, Arlington Street Church; and Margaret Douglas McCarter of the Boston Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In a short time, an important array of national endorsers has also been gained. They include: U.S. Representatives Andrew Young (D-Ga.) and Parren Mitchell



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

May 17, 1975, march on Boston was blow to racists. Another massive display of probusing sentiment is urgently needed.

(D-Md.) of the Congressional Black Caucus; Joe Madison, executive director of the Detroit NAACP; baseball star Henry Aaron; the NAACP branch in Minneapolis and the Village NAACP branch in New York City; Abe Feinglass, international vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and Black leader Robert F. Williams.

Wide student backing

The National Student Coalition Against Racism and its campus-based chapters across the nation have undertaken the work of mobilizing high school and college participation in the April 3-4 and April 24 actions.

Among the initial student groups and leaders supporting the demonstrations are: Edgar Ward, student government president, Roxbury Community College; Cheryl Brown, president, Umoja, Boston University; Efrain Collodo, president, Puerto Rican Student Union, University of Massachusetts, Boston; Minority Students Coalition, University of Missouri; the four executive leaders of the Virginia Commonwealth College NAACP; and the Black Muslims Student Organization and Black Students Association, San Diego City College.

The breadth of the initial list of supporters is an indication of the growing recognition of the need for a massive, visible show of opposition to the antibusing forces.

The segregationist movement got a big boost here recently with George Wallace's strong showing in the Massachusetts presidential primary. Wallace finished first in Boston—"the cradle of liberty"—although he trailed Sen. Henry Jackson statewide. Jackson openly competed with Wallace for the right-wing, antibusing vote.

The call for April 24 explains that "segregation in Boston is based on a regimented racial pattern of housing discrimination which has resulted in the thorough and deliberate construction of a dual school system.

"Blacks in Boston, as in other Northern cities, were forced, compelled and coerced into accepting a

second class educational citizenship through the ruthless, 'official' and organized bigotry of the school committee, city council and mayor's office, which ignored the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling [outlawing segregation in public schools].

"In June of 1974 Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity issued an order that the Boston school system must be desegregated with the use of busing. It took over ten years of struggle just to get this ruling! We marched, picketed, struck, boycotted, sat-in and otherwise protested against educational inequality.

"We were even aided by Dr. Martin Luther King in 1965 who led 15,000 Black and white Bostonians against this city's segregation. It was this decade long struggle that forced the courts to recognize and outlaw segregation in Boston. Today we need such a powerful movement to implement peacefully the law of the land."

The words of Melissa Wilson, who is a leader of the Hyde Park

High School Black students and a member of the school's Biracial Council, summed up the significance of the April 24 mobilization. "We need it so we can get together and unite," she told the *Militant*.

'Racists won't like it'

"The racist students won't like it, but we don't care, because we've got to help out the Black students so they can start speaking up."

Wilson is an activist in the Student Coalition Against Racism, and she is already at work on organizing the action. "We've got to get this march on Boston so the Black students will know who they can turn to when something happens.

"It can be a blow to the racists," she said. "That's why it's so necessary."

For more information, contact the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston, c/o Arlington Street Church, 355 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116. Telephone (617) 288-6200.

'Law of the land'

BOSTON—The call for the march on Boston April 24 rips into public officials who have refused to take action to uphold the law on desegregation:

"The chief anti-busing bigot, Gerald Ford, has refused to use the power of the Federal government to enforce the law. On a local level Mayor Kevin H. White has time and time again refused to uphold the rights of the Black and Puerto Rican communities of Boston. As mayor, the chief city official, he has failed in recent weeks to even utter a denunciation of terrorist attacks against Blacks in this city."

The April 24 action "will demand the following actions be taken by the mayor of Boston, the state of Massachusetts and the Federal government: All steps must be taken to defend Black and Puerto Rican students being bused and the community as a whole from racist attacks. This includes the use of the city police, state police and federal troops to make sure this happens. Desegregation is the law of the land and it must be defended."

New racist violence

BOSTON—Continued racist violence here underscores the urgency of a nationwide response by all supporters of desegregation.

On March 5, racists hurled stones at a school bus in the Hyde Park section of the city. An eleven-year-old Black student and a Black parent had to be hospitalized.

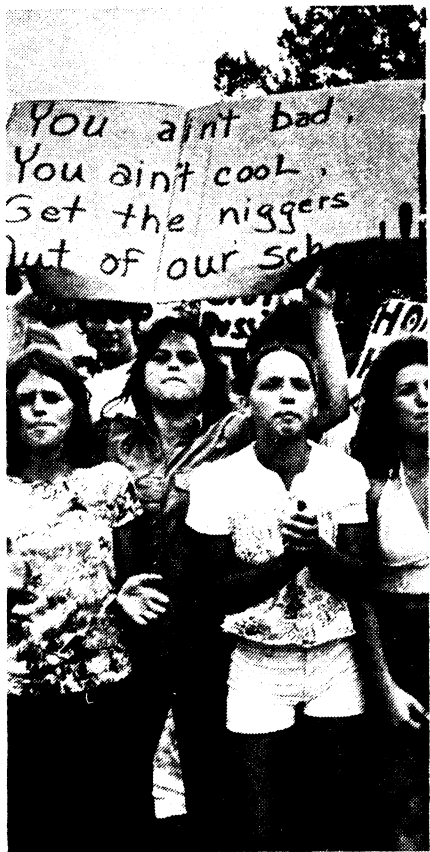
On March 9, antibusing gangs staged a midnight raid, smashing out windows and wrecking school buses. They did an estimated \$50,000 damage to the vehicles. An official of the bus company stated that the attack was an attempt to block "implementing the court order. . . . This kind of thing has been going on for some time."

The bus wrecking was a clear threat to the Black students who ride them every day. It was part of the coordinated campaign to terrorize the Black community and force it to give up the struggle for desegregation.

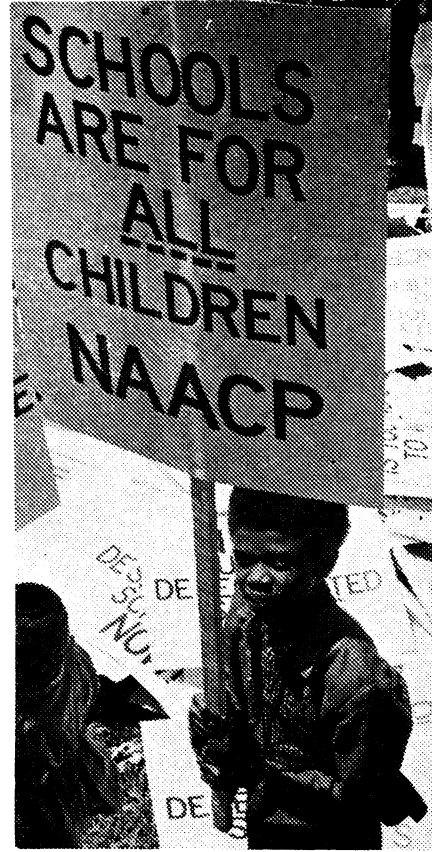
Prominent Black leaders in Boston and around the country, along with many white supporters of desegregation, believe that the planned April 24 action can help put an end to this unrestrained racist violence. "What is needed today in Boston," their call to action states, "is a movement, a counter-mobilization of the Black community and its supporters for school desegregation, busing and against racism. This is necessary to change the present atmosphere in the city so Blacks can go to school, walk the streets and otherwise live in Boston without fear of racist attacks. . . .

"We call upon those of you who stand for humanity and justice to march with us. We call upon religious and academic communities, elected officials, labor leaders, officials of the public school system, brothers and sisters of suburbia to join us on April 24."

—J.H.



'76 candidates Where do they stand on busing?



Militant/Jon Flanders

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Although there was a small turnout for the Massachusetts Democratic party primary March 2, antibusing voters throughout the state mobilized to pin the gold medal on Henry Jackson, and the silver one on George Wallace.

The *New York Times* editorialized two days later, "It was [Jackson's] vigorous stand on school busing that won him the attention of his audience and gained him his competitive edge."

Jackson took out a full-page ad in the *Boston Globe* boldly headlined, "I am against busing." Complaining that Wallace's antibusing tirades were all talk, the ad promised, "Only one candidate has a plan that can stop it [busing]."

Jackson's plan would require federal judges to show point by point why alternatives to busing have been rejected. All existing desegregation plans, as well as future ones, would have to be approved by a three-judge panel.

But this wasn't good enough for some of the most hardcore racists in Boston's Charlestown section, who booed Jackson off the stage during a February 12 appearance there. Their candidate was Alabama's George Wallace—the only candidate who openly calls for a constitutional amendment to ban busing for desegregation.

In fact, Wallace polled the top position in Boston itself, where bigots from the racist strongholds turned out in larger numbers than most other Bostonians.

Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia, took the number four spot in the primary.

Carter says that he opposes "mandatory" busing, but that he would "uphold the law" if he were elected president. According to Carter's press secretary, the former governor doesn't favor a constitutional ban on busing because "he believes now there is no chance [one] could be written and passed."

And the others?

What about the other candidates? Where do they stand on school desegregation?

Despite lip service to civil rights and equal opportunity, not one candidate in the Democratic or Republican party has consistently and actively backed the right of Black students to attend the schools of their choice.

In stark contrast, Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-

presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid interrupted national speaking tours in February to travel to Boston and to speak out against the racist mobs that have terrorized Black students in that city for more than a year and a half.

They urged united demonstrations and rallies to counter the racist onslaught. Camejo and Reid are now back on the road, using their campaign tours to mobilize participation in the upcoming April 24 probusing march in Boston that has been called by Black community leaders in that city.

Rep. Morris Udall, now the leading liberal Democratic contender, has stated publicly on several occasions that he supports busing. Even the most careful digging through his campaign literature, however, would fail to unearth this fact. The most hard-hitting statement to be found there on the issue is that "we are a nation of laws, not of men, and . . . nobody can willfully flout the law of this land."

But taking Udall at his word, what has he done to defend the embattled Black community in Boston and elsewhere? Did he counter Jackson's racist ad with one of his own declaring, "I am for busing"? No.

Did he use his campaign in Massachusetts to promote massive actions in support of Black rights? No again.

In fact, Udall's only actions with regard to busing belie his claim that he

stands on the side of the Black community on this issue. In 1974 he voted for an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to restrict the use of busing for desegregation purposes.

This year Udall introduced legislation into Congress to allow school districts to wriggle out of busing requirements if they are able to devise "alternative" plans. These would include pairing schools and developing magnet schools, both of which are considered inadequate substitutes by the NAACP and other busing supporters in the Black community.

The 'new populist'

Former Sen. Fred Harris, the "new populist," condones busing "as a last resort," according to his campaign headquarters. An official Harris statement proclaims, "As President, I would call on local communities to help make the court order work, or come up with some plan they like better, as some communities have."

For the most part, however, Harris tries to avoid the issue, as even some of his backers admit. When asked about Harris's attitude toward the recent rash of racist violence in Boston, a spokesperson said, "He wouldn't say anything about it unless he was asked about it, and I don't think he was [in Massachusetts]."

What about Sargent Shriver?

"Today we hear the question put, 'Are you for or against busing?', as if a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer is possible," explained Shriver last October. His prospects for the nomination have fallen considerably as a result of the beating he took in Massachusetts, his Kennedy in-laws' state.

Shriver opposes busing "if other alternatives are available, if it cannot be expected to work, if it would cause more segregation than it cures, or if it would endanger the health and safety or injure the education of the children involved."

That's a liberal's translation of Jackson's simpler "I am against busing."

In that same October speech, Shriver in effect dismissed the threat posed by the racist mobs with an appeal to antibusing whites: "Such worries as you have over busing are not motivated by ideas of racism, but by concern over the welfare of your children," Shriver said.

Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, who "suspended" his race after his loss in



Sign of the times

What strategy to fight CUNY cutbacks?

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—Thousands of students from the City University of New York (CUNY) protested this week as the board of higher education moved closer to implementing a new round of cutbacks.

- March 3: 1,000 students rallied at York College in Jamaica, Queens, and then marched through the surrounding community.

- March 4: 2,000 students at John Jay College in Manhattan held a rally and marched to the board of higher education offices.

- March 5: More than 1,000 students from Hostos College, which has extensive bilingual programs to serve the Puerto Rican community of the South Bronx, blocked the Grand Concourse to protest the planned shutdown of their school.

- March 8: 3,000 students protested outside a hearing by the board of higher education on cutback plans, while another 2,000 rallied at Queens College.

The most significant action planned at this time is a statewide demonstration involving both CUNY and the State University of New York, to be held at the state capitol in Albany on March 16.

This action is endorsed by the Student Association of the State University, the Union of University Professors, the Professional Staff Congress, the University Student Senate, and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism.

The board of higher education has already approved a plan for a compulsory four-week unpaid furlough for all CUNY employees, from professors to maintenance workers. The board is also studying a number of plans designed to cut an additional \$60 million from the CUNY budget.

The proposal receiving the most serious attention is one drawn up by City University Chancellor Robert Kibbee. Under the Kibbee plan, three colleges—John Jay, Richmond, and Hostos—would be closed and two others—York and Medgar Evers—would be reduced from four-year colleges to two-year technical schools.

In addition, new, more stringent standards would be imposed to restrict admissions. Kibbee boasts that his plan would reduce the number of students at CUNY by at least 30,000.

The new wave of protests, many of which have been large and militant, reflects a realization by many CUNY

students that the Kibbee plan and similar proposals would end any opportunity for them to get a university education.

Yet, despite the frequency and militancy of these actions, many of them have lacked a clear understanding of how to fight the cuts.

There is a danger that the students, teachers, and other CUNY employees will be led into the same mistaken strategy followed by the municipal employee unions, with the same disastrous results.

Throughout the city budget crisis, the capitalist politicians and the Wall Street bankers they represent have followed an old but effective policy: divide and rule.

They began with a vast propaganda campaign to convince people that the government has no money; that cutbacks in municipal jobs, wages, and services are necessary to "save the city from default."

The only question, as these Democratic and Republican politicians pose it, is where to cut.

The municipal union leaders, unwilling to break with their "friends" in the Democratic party, failed to challenge the basic premise of making the workers pay for the crisis. They were sucked into the destructive game of competing among themselves over who to cut.

Showing themselves willing to sacrifice low-seniority workers, Black workers, women workers, and other groups, they divided and demoralized the union membership. They also divided the unions from their strongest potential allies, the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The same divisive strategy is now being applied to CUNY. Last December, the first steps were taken to restrict the policy, won by student and community struggles in the late 1960s, that any city high school graduate would be admitted to CUNY. Special tests were imposed to keep out those who allegedly had less than an eighth-grade reading and mathematics ability.



York College students demonstrate March 3. Cutback plan proposed by Chancellor Robert Kibbee would scale down four-year college to two-year technical school.

According to the board of higher education's own study, these tests would cut Black and Puerto Rican enrollment in next fall's freshman class by more than two-thirds and eventually leave CUNY with the same racial composition it had before open admissions.

The more privileged white students, coming from areas with relatively better elementary and secondary schools, were encouraged to support this policy.

Now, some forces in CUNY are pushing the Kibbee plan because it concentrates this round of cuts against only five colleges, most of which serve Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Joseph Murphy, president of Queens College, has been quietly lining up faculty and student support for the Kibbee plan because it leaves Queens College relatively untouched.

The president of York College has drawn up a study comparing York with the other four-year colleges in "cost effectiveness," educational standards, and academic achievement. The implication is that one of these other four-year schools should be reduced to a two-year school instead of York.

Mark Friedman, editor of the Baruch College *Sentry* and a leader of the Baruch Student Coalition Against Racism, told the *Militant*, "No school, no job, no essential social service can be saved by accepting the premise that cuts in education and other social services are necessary and inevitable."

"The only effective answer to the cuts is to build a powerful social movement uniting all the victims of the cuts, aiming to change the social priorities in this country so that education and other essential social services are provided to all."

"The money is there—first and foremost in the more than \$100 billion handed over to the Pentagon each year."

"This is the approach we have to keep in mind for our demonstration in Albany on the sixteenth. We can't go to Albany, lobbying with hat in hand, pleading with the politicians to please cut some other social service but not education."

"We have to say, in large numbers, no cuts in any social services. We have to build a united movement demanding that this country's resources go towards the needs of working people, not to the war budget and the profits of the wealthy."

A steelworkers local debates action on ERA

By Carl Finamore

OAKLAND, Calif.—Most of the forty-three workers in the East Oakland machine shop where I work are older, white, relatively highly paid men. They have had little if any contact with the radical movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

The women's liberation movement has made no impact upon these men. Or so it seemed.

At the last meeting of our union, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 5450, I raised several proposals about the drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

I proposed that our local go on record in support of the ERA; that we endorse the national pro-ERA demonstration called for May 16 in Springfield, Illinois; and that we make a fifty-dollar contribution to the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Twelve members were present. As I raised the question of the ERA, I could see they were all thinking about it for the first time. Everyone listened more

intently than is common in these meetings.

Then the questions came. Who are the people opposing the ERA and why? Has California passed the amendment?

An older union officer commented, "It's a damn good idea. Let's have some more information on it."

Another said, "Well, of course I'm for women getting equal pay for equal work—everyone's got to be for equal rights—but I don't know anything about this Coalition of Labor Union Women or the May 16 demonstration. Let's hold off on that until we get more information."

"How does the steelworkers union feel about the ERA and CLUW and the May 16 action?" asked another.

The union representative from the regional office assured the members that the USWA nationally was in full support of the ERA. But he did not know anything about CLUW or May 16.

These questions led to the best political discussion the local has had in the three years I have been attending meetings.

As the discussion continued, one member rose to oppose the ERA. It would "destroy America's moral fiber," he said. "This is another attack on the family, which is part of America."

I had expected the other union members would have more in common with this fellow, who is well liked in the shop.

There was more discussion. One young member pointed out that none of the women unionists were present. "Why should we do something for them when they aren't even here?"

He was right about the absence of women at the meeting. The fifteen older women workers are confined to the lowest-paid jobs and are discouraged from attending union meetings by the male-dominated union structure.

But this question began another good discussion on the need to build

unity by defending the most exploited group of workers. More discussion about CLUW took place. Here was an example of union women organizing.

No one budged from supporting the ERA despite appeals to God, country, and family. The motion to endorse the ERA passed with only the one lone objection.

Then the union decided to use the shop bulletin board to share the discussion with the whole membership. We instructed the union secretary to write to the Steelworkers regional office for information on CLUW, May 16, and the ERA.

I was asked to get materials on ERA activities planned by CLUW. The dissenting union member said he would bring in anti-ERA literature for the bulletin board. So now we are having a written discussion that is visible to all the members.

Our next local meeting will discuss support to local CLUW activities and the May 16 demonstration.

From East Coast to West Coast

Women's Day demonstrations urge:

By Ginny Hildebrand

International Women's Day events filled the March 6-8 weekend. At demonstrations, rallies, and teach-ins, women spoke out loudly for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, in defense of abortion rights, and on other issues of deep concern to them.

The broad endorsement of these actions from feminist groups, unions, and student and Black organizations shows that the attacks on women's rights have begun to spark a militant response from supporters of women's liberation.

The success of these events is a sign of the potential for the May 16 national ERA march and rally in Springfield, Illinois, called by the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The March 6-8 actions helped to launch the drive to mobilize thousands of women's rights supporters for this national ERA demonstration. Following are highlights of the International Women's Day activities.

Philadelphia

Nearly 500 ERA supporters demonstrated in Philadelphia on Saturday, March 6.

Philadelphia NOW initiated the march as part of a buildup for the May 16 national ERA demonstration. Local NOW President Nada Chandler urged demonstrators to join the "Freedom

CLUW supports May 16 ERA rally

[The March 6-7 meeting of the National Executive Board of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, meeting in Washington, D.C., adopted two resolutions in support of the Equal Rights Amendment. Printed below is the resolution supporting the May 16 national ERA mobilization called by the National Organization for Women.]

The Coalition of Labor Union Women hereby declares that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment is our first and foremost priority.

We commit ourselves to it with all our imagination, energies and resources. The ERA is a working women's issue. It is an issue of equal pay, increased job opportunities, and fair medical sick leave provisions. We support it in recognition of the fact that we will never have our full economic rights until we have our full legal rights.

This is a commitment that we will never back away from until we win, and until equality for women is written into our United States Constitution.

Whereas, Illinois is a key, pivotal, industrial state in the fight for ratification, and

Whereas, victory there will influence Indiana, Missouri, and all the other unratified states, and

Whereas, victory in Illinois is of deep national concern,

We hereby enthusiastically endorse the May 16 Illinois ERA Mobilization and encourage those chapters in neighboring states to send a delegation to the May 16 Mobilization.

Furthermore, we hereby establish CLUW ERA coordinators in all the unratified states and commit ourselves to bring the true facts about the ERA to all working women we can reach, thereby forging that coalition which will lead us to victory.



Militant/Pat Hayes
International Women's Day actions in St. Louis and many other cities launched campaign to mobilize for May 16 national ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois.

Train for Women's Rights," which will take East Coast ERA supporters to Springfield.

Stepping off from city hall, the Philadelphia marchers moved down Chestnut Street, which is adorned with bicentennial decorations. "200 years is enough! ERA now!" they chanted.

Participants in the march included members of the Philadelphia Social Services Union; Service Employees International Union Local 668; NOW chapters from Virginia and New Jersey and State College, Pennsylvania; National Black Feminist Organization; Unemployment Council of Philadelphia; Socialist Workers party; Metropolitan Community Church; Philadelphia Women's Union; and student groups for the ERA.

At a pre-march news conference, NOW National President Karen DeCraw said, "The thrust of today's demonstration is to show that people in ratified states like Pennsylvania are not content. We have to ratify in four more states or none of us will be constitutionally equal."

At a teach-in after the march, Henry Nicholas of National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199 pledged his union's help.

Rosemary Dempsey of New Jersey NOW urged people to join the "Freedom Train," saying, "We have to impress upon those legislators that they have to answer to the whole country, not just their own little rural county in Illinois. We have to spend the next year demanding the ERA be passed. Otherwise, the bicentennial is a nasty joke on the women of this country."

San Francisco

March 7 was "Women's Rights Day" in San Francisco.

Almost a thousand women, men, and children gathered in Golden Gate Park for a festival and rally to commemorate International Women's Day. They called for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and quality child-care centers in San Francisco.

Linda Festa of San Francisco NOW scored city officials' attitudes toward child care. "In the past, whenever we would go to city officials for more child-care services, we were told the people didn't care about child care," she said. "But we showed them—97,000 voters voted 'yes' for child care [in a 1973 referendum]. And what did the city do as a result? Nothing!"

Patty Siegel, director of the Child Care Switchboard, announced a March 12 sit-in and rally at the State Building to protest new federal regulations that will boost child-care fees.

The crowd applauded Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, when she casti-

gated the Democrats and Republicans for failing to pass the ERA in the fifty years since it was introduced. She urged demonstrators not to rely on the promises of politicians but on "our own power mobilized in our massive numbers" to "force" them to ratify the ERA.

Actress Jane Fonda was applauded when she called for child-care centers instead of war spending.

Sylvia Weinstein of Child and Parent Action called for funding child-care centers by increasing taxes of the rich.

Washington, DC

In Washington, D.C., more than 500 people squeezed into Marvin Center Theatre at George Washington University March 8 for a teach-in on the ERA.

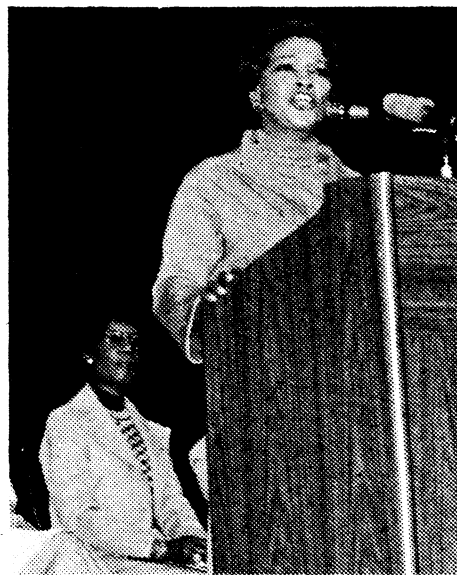
Featured speakers were Addie Wyatt, vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.).

In a speech punctuated by frequent shouts and applause, Wyatt described the conditions that make the ERA most important for working women and Black women.

"I've been a housewife for thirty-six years," she said. "But I also realized thirty-four years ago that if I did not go outside the home to work for pay, I wouldn't have a home to make. And that is true for the majority of women that I represent. Most of those women work because they have to."

Once in the labor force, Wyatt continued, "they're discriminated against because they happen to be workers. They're discriminated against because they happen to be female. And then if you happen to be Black like me, you're discriminated against because you happen to be Black."

Sarah Schramm, a professor at



Militant/Ed Mattos
Addie Wyatt (right) and Rep. Shirley Chisholm discuss plight of Black and working women at Washington, D.C. teach-in.

George Washington and a member of NOW, spoke about the right-wing opponents of the ERA. Sara Smith, coordinator of GW Students for the ERA, chaired and called on all participants in the teach-in to march on Springfield, Illinois, May 16. By the end of the meeting, more than 100 women had signed up for more information on the demonstration.

St. Louis

St. Louisians for the ERA sponsored March 6 International Women's Day events in that city. An ERA rally, march, and workshops drew 150 participants.

One of the featured speakers at the rally was Florence Luscomb, an eighty-nine-year-old suffragist, who traced the history of women's fight to win the right to vote.

Mary Ann Sedey, midwest regional coordinator of NOW, gave a special presentation on NOW's plans for the May 15 and 16 events in Springfield.

The purpose of the national demonstration, she said, is to "turn the eyes of the nation onto the ERA" by bringing "thousands and thousands of women and men to demand immediate ratification of the ERA in Illinois."

The crowd voted to organize large-scale participation from Missouri, a state where the ERA has not been ratified. Greetings were presented from American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 410, which concluded, "We plan to be at the May 15-16 mobilization."

Los Angeles

Eighty-five ERA supporters picketed the Federal Building in Los Angeles on March 8 to mark International Women's Day. The picket line was initiated by the Los Angeles Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment.

"ERA in '76, 200 years too long" and "Equal rights, equal pay, ratify the ERA" were chanted by members of campus feminist groups, NOW, CLUW, Communications Workers Local 11502, Young Socialist Alliance, Coalition of Women Truck Drivers, and others.

The same day 120 people attended a debate on the ERA at California State University at Los Angeles.

At a news conference on March 5 the L.A. Coalition for the ERA announced plans to help organize a May 15 Los Angeles demonstration in solidarity with NOW's national march on Springfield.

San Diego

"On to May 15 in Los Angeles" was the theme of a rally of 300 in San Diego on March 6.

"It's time for us to get together in a march," Margaret Castro, chairperson of the Chicano Federation, told the rally. And, she added, we'll need to continue marching after the ERA is ratified "to make sure it's enforced."

Ann Zielinski, speaking for San Diego CLUW, stressed the importance of the ERA for working women. She said that CLUW wants to "work with our brothers in the unions to bring the full force of the labor movement behind ratification of the ERA."

The rally, called by San Diegans for the ERA, was endorsed by a wide range of unions, women's groups, the NAACP, B'nai Brith, and Socialist Workers candidate Don Sorsa, who is running for Congress from the Forty-second Congressional District.

St. Paul

In St. Paul, near-zero temperatures and a chill Minnesota wind did not deter 400 ERA supporters from gather-

'On to May 16 national ERA rally!'

ing on the state capitol steps.

The March 6 demonstrators fought off the cold by chanting as they made their way to the St. Paul Women's Center: "Ratify the ERA, come to Illinois in May."

The crowd repeatedly broke into applause during speeches at the indoor rally and gave an ovation to Ramona Austin, a coordinator of the Minority Task Force of Minnesota NOW.

Austin spoke of the need for solidarity among all women as she recalled Frederick Douglass's words that when the slaves refused to fight among themselves, it "worried the slave master."

Speakers represented a broad range of groups including the Yvonne Warron Defense Committee, American Indian Movement, AFSCME Local 1164, Socialist Workers party, and Catholic, lesbian, and welfare-recipient groups.

New York

In New York City, International Women's Day was commemorated with a picket line in defense of abortion rights. During the noon hour on March 8, 300 abortion rights supporters gathered in front of St. Patrick's Cathedral to protest the Catholic church hierarchy's intensified anti-abortion campaign.

Symbolizing church and government interference with women's right to choose abortion, two people dressed up as Uncle Sam and the pope. Arm and arm they wended their way through the crowd as picketers chanted, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate." The action was sponsored by NOW.

NOW and the New York University Women's Center have scheduled a one-day ERA conference for Saturday, March 13. Workshops and strategy discussions will be held at 4 Washington Square North beginning at 10:00 a.m.

Houston

Three hundred demonstrators sang women's rights songs as they marched through downtown Houston on March

6. A contingent from Mujeres Unidas (Women United), a Chicana feminist group, translated and sang the songs in Spanish.

The "Bicentennial Parade for Women's Rights" demanded ratification of the ERA and an end to attacks on women's right to legal abortion. More than twenty-five organizations backed the action.

Gertrude Barnstone of Women's Equity Action League chaired the rally. Several speakers pointed to the importance of the May 16 national ERA march and invited demonstrators to a March 29 meeting to plan Houston participation.

Frankfort, Ky.

"Two hundred years of women's fights, ain't it time for equal rights?" chanted 425 ERA supporters in Frankfort, Kentucky.

The marchers gathered in the state capital on March 6 to show that "Kentucky today is pro-ERA."

In that state, reactionary mobilizations against school busing for desegregation in Jefferson County have buoyed attacks on the ERA. Already, the Kentucky House of Representatives has voted to rescind the amendment.

Kentucky reactionaries are also welcoming Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion presidential candidate. She spoke to 700 people at a "right-to-life" banquet in Louisville on March 6.

Edgar Wallace, Kentucky state president of the NAACP, told the ERA demonstrators that the same forces opposing busing are fighting the ERA. Like the civil rights movement, he said, "We will have to have marches, boycotts, and demonstrations until women get the rights they deserve."

Other actions

On March 1, a bill to rescind ERA ratification was introduced into the Michigan legislature. This move stimulated a sense of urgency among the more than 100 participants at a March 6 Detroit teach-in.

Mary Jo Walsh, president of Detroit NOW, stressed the need to debate the anti-ERA forces across the state. Peg



San Francisco rally demanded implementation of 1973 child-care referendum and ratification of ERA.

Russell, president of the Ann Arbor American Postal Workers Union and Washtenaw County CLUW, emphasized the importance of the ERA struggle for working women.

Referring to the May 16 march, Detroit NAACP head Joe Madison stated, "I will be in Springfield." In his talk he compared the civil rights movement to the struggle for women's rights.

Before the speeches and workshops at Wayne State University ended, the body voted to send two telegrams: one to the state legislature warning that Michigan women won't tolerate overturning ERA ratification; the other, to the national office of NOW pledging to mobilize participation for the May 16 action. Sixty people immediately signed up to make the trip to Springfield.

A "Speak-out for the Equal Rights

Amendment" marked International Women's Day in Seattle. Several women's, labor, student, and Black groups came together to sponsor the meeting. All speakers pointed to the need for a united action campaign to win national ratification.

Jean Marie Brough of NOW called for the formation of an ERA coalition in Seattle. The founding meeting will be held on March 18 at 7:30 p.m. in St. Joseph's Church.

A day filled with women's liberation workshops and cultural events at the University of California's Berkeley campus was capped by a "Celebration for Women's Rights." The March 8 event took up the theme "200 years is enough. We demand women's rights now."

The 125 participants listened to talks on the ERA, abortion, affirmative action, and child care.

A leader of the Abortion Task Force of East Bay NOW emphasized the need to counter the massive mobilizations of the so-called right-to-life forces.

The chairperson of East Bay NOW announced plans to launch a Bay Area coalition to plan a May 16 solidarity action.

Among the other speakers was Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate.

One hundred fifty University of Massachusetts students turned out for a debate on the ERA at their Boston campus on March 8.

Debating ERA supporter Ellen Feingold, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, were two local STOP ERA leaders, Agnes Smith and Margaret Mahoney.

The students overwhelmingly favored the women's rights amendment. Fifty of them signed up to organize support for national ratification and a "yes" vote on a state ERA, which will be on the November Massachusetts ballot. The debate was organized by the newly formed U. Mass. Women's Center.

Another debate on the ERA took place March 8 at the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago. Nearly 100 students participated in the event organized by a campus feminist group. Other International Women's Day events in Chicago included a picket line for economic rights of 70 organized by the CLUW chapter and workshops and a movie shown by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union at Metro High School.

Reid: 'Rely on our own power'

[Following are excerpts from a speech given by SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid at the March 7 "Women's Rights Day" rally in San Francisco.]

Actions like this one for child care and the Equal Rights Amendment are taking place across the country.

These actions occur in an atmosphere of attacks on the living standards of working people and the rights of the Black community and women. And the fighters for human rights can find almost no support from government officials.

Instead, many politicians are speaking up and speaking loud in sympathy with reactionary forces who are now mobilizing against women.

Gerald Ford is saying that the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and the 1973 decision that legalized abortion went too far.

Ellen McCormack, the one woman in the Democratic party who is running for president, came out as a one-issue candidate against abortion. But in the Massachusetts primaries, she added one more issue—antibusing.

This is a clear reflection of the

fact that the very same people who are opposed to women's rights are throwing rocks at Black schoolchildren in Boston. These reactionaries are the very same people who have mobilized to stop the ERA.

But we will not be stopped by this very vocal, well-financed minority.

We must use the same methods we used to get school desegregation laws passed; to get abortion laws on the books; to get affirmative-action programs implemented.

We must use our own power mobilized in our massive numbers.

I don't travel around the country saying that the way to guarantee winning women's rights as equals is to subordinate your struggle to electing me to office.

Think about it. Think about what the politicians are saying when they tell you to use your movement to ring doorbells to get them elected.

They're saying to you that your struggle is not as important as getting them elected to office. The Democratic party politicians have had more than fifty years to ratify the ERA. Why haven't they passed it?

They haven't passed it because the Democrats and Republicans are committed to protecting the very system that needs to oppress women

and Blacks. Because we provide them with the raw labor power that guarantees their profits.

Instead of allowing them to dismantle our movement into the dead-end politics of the Democratic and Republican parties, we've got to broaden the coalition that built this rally. We've got to build it big and powerful to include the Black community, the Chicano community, the labor movement—any individual and organization that is willing to move right now.

We have to rely on our own power organized independently of the control of liberal Democratic or conservative Republican politicians.

Peter Camejo—my running mate—and I will be out here today, tomorrow, using our travels around the country to urge women and all supporters of women's rights to join together in Illinois on May 16.

We have to make the national demonstration for the ERA in Springfield, Illinois, so big and so powerful that the politicians in Illinois will have to get along with the business of passing the ERA.

Two hundred years is more than too long, and to wait one year longer is intolerable. We've got the power and we have to use it to guarantee that change is going to be made.

Black Dems: a sorry record

By Baxter Smith

The dilemma was described best by Newark's Black Democratic mayor, Kenneth Gibson. "The electorate is a lot smarter than they were years ago," he said last month. "They want to see if you're working for them as you lead them or if you're working for yourself."

Nowadays this dilemma is a common one among Black elected officials (BEOs), as voices in the Black community—few, but growing in seemingly geometric proportions—demand accountability.

In 1967 there were fewer than 100 Black elected officials. Because of the power of Blacks at the ballot box, today there are some 3,500—a number that is still, however, less than 1 percent of all elected officials.

One reason for the continued increase in the election of Black Demo-

Since the publication of Fuller's articles, a few other Black periodicals and columnists have echoed his theme, one that is not uncommon among little folk in the Black community.

Confronted with such charges, it is helpful to examine the performance of several prominent Black elected officials in what has been a critical test for all claiming to stand with the Black community—the economic crisis.

The raft of gains that Blacks won in the 1960s—in housing, in schooling, in employment, and in job advancement—have been seriously jeopardized by the economic crisis. In many instances those gains have been reduced to a level from which it will take decades for Blacks to recover.

Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, said that under this economic assault "the Black community is being forced back into patterns that were commonplace during the Great Depression of the 1930s."

With a problem of these dimensions, how have the actions of BEOs differed from those of their white counterparts? Have their actions been to defend the gains of the Black community? Or have they been to serve the goals of the Democratic and Republican parties in placing the needs of those parties—and of the capitalist system—first, and the needs of Blacks last?

'Working for them?'

There is no little irony in Gibson's remark about the electorate wanting "to see if you're working for them," because the Black constituencies of few other BEOs are as impoverished and powerless as Gibson's.

Newark, the largest city in New Jersey, has the state's highest rates of infant mortality and substandard housing. The city is more than 60 percent Black.

The unemployment rate overall is 25 percent, and a third of the population receives some public assistance.

"When I walk the streets," Gibson says, "the people say to me, 'Mayor, can you help me get a job?' This is uppermost in their minds."

But, beginning in early 1975, Gibson helped to lengthen the jobless rolls by laying off municipal workers, many of whom were Blacks. Some 800 of the 6,000 city employees felt the Gibson axe in 1975.

In January 1976 Gibson announced he would be laying off an additional 500 workers. His announcement this time, however, was met by a protest of some 400 city employees and students.

Led by the Newark Teachers Union, demonstrators carried placards reading "Gibson Fiddles While Newark Burns," "Less Firemen Equals More Deaths," and "Don't Cut City Services."



Mayor Richard Hatcher doesn't have much to say as Gary, Indiana, city workers are forced onto unemployment lines.



Detroit has highest unemployment rate of any major city, but Coleman Young is laying off thousands of city workers.

In 1975 Gibson trimmed \$17 million from public school spending, and raised real estate and liquor consumption taxes.

Detroit's Young

"We are not talking about massive layoffs or drastic cutbacks in services," Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said early in January 1975. But by the end of that month he had laid off some 1,500 municipal workers in his city.

"Faced with a drastic decline in municipal revenues as a result of its unemployment rate—the highest, by far, for any major city—Detroit has responded with drastic layoffs of municipal workers and with other economies," the *New York Times* reported in May 1975.

"... It is the reduction in personnel costs that constitutes the dramatic part of Detroit's response to its fiscal problems."

"Some 1,980 workers, 10 per cent of the city payroll, will have been laid off between February and the end of the fiscal year, June 30," the *Times* continued. "In addition, the city is trying to cut its payrolls by another 1,200 by not filling vacancies."

"The city is trying to get its municipal employees unions to agree to cutbacks in work and pay, such as accepting straight pay for holidays, that would reduce payroll costs by 8 per cent, which is the equivalent of 1,500 jobs. All these reductions would produce a cut of 24 per cent in city payrolls."

And in 1976, Young has so far announced the layoffs of 1,500 to 2,000 city employees at the end of March, and another 1,500 to 2,000 on July 1.

'Callous disregard'

It is not only in large municipalities that Black elected officials have engineered or aided in cutting back on social services affecting the Black community and laying off Black and other workers.

"In Tuskegee," a story in the January 4, 1975, *Afro-American* said of that Black-run Alabama town, "plans include reduction of services, a hiring freeze and volunteer workers, according to M.L. Burton Jr., comptroller for this small city which has Johnny Ford as mayor."

The article said that while no layoffs were planned at that time, "the city is 'not hiring at all' and 'not promptly filling vacancies unless it is absolutely necessary.'"

At the end of 1974, Richard Hatcher, the mayor of majority-Black Gary, Indiana, termed a decision by U.S. Steel to lay off 2,500 workers a "callous disregard for Gary."

During the past few months, how-

ever, Hatcher has been noticeably mum as scores of municipal employees in federally funded jobs in that nearly 70 percent Black city have been forced onto the jobless rolls.

Sutton and Rangel plans

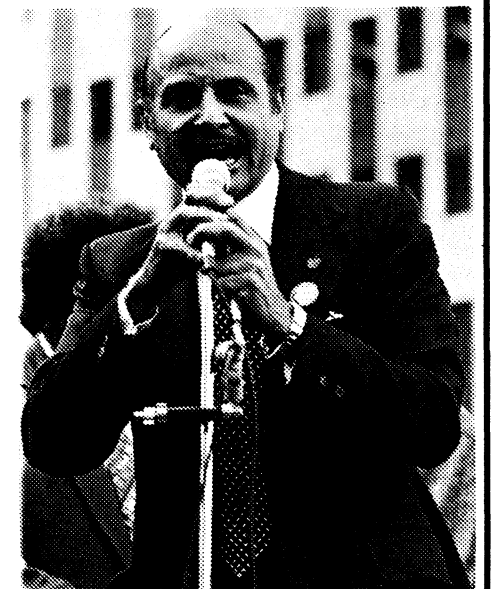
Few BEOs have been as brazen as New York's Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and U.S. Rep. Charles Rangel, another New York Democrat, in trying to deceive Blacks on who is responsible for the municipal crisis.

Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame has been cutting back on social services and laying off tens of thousands of municipal employees, including 40 percent of all Black male city workers. Sutton has argued that this is necessary.

To show his support, last fall Sutton even proposed budget-cutting measures to outstrip Beame's. He recommended cutting services by an additional 10 percent, laying off 10 percent more city workers, and cutting city employees' salaries 25 percent.

In January Sutton and Rangel proposed more cuts in the city university system, allegedly to save open admissions, a program won by Black and Puerto Rican students at the turn of the decade.

Their recommendations included requiring longer working hours from



New York City's Percy Sutton calls for even more cutbacks in services and education than Mayor Beame.

university faculty; increasing the use of lower-paid faculty members; and dropping all students who failed to pass at least half their courses after three semesters, a move that would fall heaviest on Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

As a result of these and other cuts wiping out Black gains in higher education in New York City, Black educators have filed bias charges against the city administration, placing them at odds with Sutton and Rangel.

Paralleling the actions of Sutton and Rangel have been those of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus in the New York State legislature. Feeling left out of the decision-making, they demanded—and won—seats on the Emergency Financial Control Board, the Wall Street-controlled body that orders layoffs and cutbacks in the city.

In cities across the country Black elected officials have chosen to line up on the side of procutback/prolayoff/anti-Black forces.

At no time has there been any questioning of the continuation of high interest payments on municipal bonds to the ruling rich. At no time has there been any questioning of the necessity of funneling payments into the Pentagon's war chest for military adventures such as that in Angola. At no time has there been any attempt to

Continued on page 30



Kenneth Gibson's Newark is more than 60 percent Black and suffers from 25 percent jobless rate.

crats and Republicans has been the widespread belief among Blacks that ballot-box protests against BEOs for lack of accountability would only mean a return to the racist exploitation and abuse by white politicians.

This is a misunderstanding that has taken hold because the Black community as yet has seen no political alternative to electing Blacks who are members of and beholden to the racist Democratic and Republican parties, which are controlled by big business.

Black Democratic and Republican elected officials have also received support from Blacks because of the belief that they can empathize with the community's plight better than white politicians.

But during the past year or so, especially with the weight of the economic crisis on the Black community, many of these beliefs and trusts in Black elected officials have been changing.

'Pariahs of America'

Last year in the October *Black World*, executive editor Hoyt Fuller charged that Black elected officials have avoided taking any steps to "lift Black people out of perpetual poverty precisely because such a move would collide head-on with the meaning of America, which is, essentially, the maintenance of an exploitable population—and since Blacks are the pariahs of America, Blacks are that population." (Emphasis in original.)

In the November *Black World* Fuller followed up on his commentary: "It is sadly ironic that, on every notable front, the state of well-being of ordinary Black people diminishes at the same time as the number of BEO's increases."

By Malik Miah

"Both parties have betrayed us whenever their interests conflicted with ours. . . . Nor should this be surprising, for by now we must know that the American political system, like all other white institutions in America, was designed to operate for the benefit of the white race. . . ." (From the Black Political Agenda, adopted by the 1972 first National Black Political Convention, in Gary, Indiana.)

This statement was approved during the last presidential election. It reflected widespread dissatisfaction among Black people with the choices offered by the Democratic and Republican parties.

Today, four years later, many Blacks feel even more strongly that the politicians of these two parties just don't give a damn about the problems confronting the Black communities across the country.

It is in the context of this growing recognition of the need for a new political course for Black people that the third National Black Political Convention will convene in Cincinnati on March 17.

The ghettos are caught in the vise-grip of unemployment, from which there seems to be no escape. But the candidates of the two parties offer nothing but empty slogans.

Racist discrimination continues on the job, in hiring and firing, in housing, and in every sphere of life. But the candidates of the two parties can't seem to find time to say anything, let alone do anything, to combat this.

In Boston, racist mobs are threatening the lives of Blacks who dare to ride a bus to previously all-white schools. Yet in the recent Massachusetts primary, not one of the Democratic or Republican office seekers demanded a halt to the attacks on Black students or took a firm stand in defense of busing to desegregate the schools. No one spoke for the needs of the Black community.

The scandalous silence of the capitalist party candidates on the problems facing Black Americans has produced a deep reaction among Blacks. This sentiment runs so deep that even some Black Democratic officials have felt obliged to raise a public protest.

Black voters 'invisible'?

"Many of us feel the Democratic candidates have found black voters to be invisible," Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) told the *New York Post* after the Massachusetts primary.

Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond agreed, and added his view that "even Fred Harris, who on many issues is the best of the bunch, doesn't speak to issues of racial justice. . . ."

And Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) complained, "They take the black vote for granted. Many candidates say, 'Where will the black vote go if not the Democratic Party,' and that's what will happen."

Shirley Chisholm is exactly right.

Blacks have vast potential political power. The Black vote provides the margin of victory for the Democratic



BOND: A presidential 'draft'?

Which way for Blacks in '76?



Delegates at first National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana. Upcoming gathering in Cincinnati faces same challenge of charting course toward independent Black political action.

party in many major cities, in key industrial states, and nationally. But because the Democrats have the Black vote sewed up in advance, they can ignore the needs and demands of Black people.

What a difference it would make if there were a mass independent Black political party, a party committed to an uncompromising struggle for the rights of Afro-Americans!

The formation of such a party would generate enthusiasm and support across the country. It could mobilize the power of the Black communities, of the many trade unions where Blacks are the majority, and of other Black organizations.

Such a party could have a substantial impact on the elections. It could put into office people who, unlike the Black elected officials today, are not beholden to the political bosses of the two capitalist parties.

Strategy makes sense

Even from the very narrow standpoint of winning more concessions from the Democrats and Republicans, this strategy makes the most sense. If they knew there was somewhere else for Black voters to go, the politicians of the two parties would be forced to compete for the Black vote, instead of taking it for granted.

But something else would begin to happen, too. A mass independent Black party would spell doom for the Democrats, who couldn't win a national election without the Black vote. The so-called Democratic coalition, based on the union movement supporting the candidates of the rich, would begin to collapse.

White working people—who also face the problems of unemployment, inflation, and cutbacks in social services—would be encouraged to demand that the union movement organize its power in the political arena independently of the capitalist class. An independent labor party, based on the unions, that would fight for the interests of all working people would be a powerful ally in the fight for Black rights.

Not an electoral machine

A mass Black party would not be just another vote-hustling machine, based on patronage and backroom deals. It would be involved in the struggles of our community 365 days a year.

Such a party would help organize a

nationwide response to the racist offensive against busing in Boston, and would help turn out Black people for demonstrations like the march on Boston to defend busing set for April 24. Actions like this would be such a party's top priority.

A Black party would lead massive struggles for more jobs, in defense of affirmative action, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, for desegregated housing, and against police terror.

Of course, such a party will not

spring into being overnight; it will take hard work and a long process to build it. But the need is now.

This is the challenge facing the Cincinnati convention. Unfortunately, the convention organizers haven't indicated how the conference will discuss and develop such a perspective.

The only thing the organizers see happening is approval of a "draft" of Julian Bond as a 1976 presidential candidate.

Ron Daniels, chairperson of the National Black Assembly (NBA), the group organizing the convention, says that "the Democrats and Republicans are not offering any alternative to Blacks" and that this "campaign has to be independent of them."

Bond 'draft'

But the decision to draft Bond poses a serious problem, in my opinion.

Bond is a Democrat. He has stated that he has no intention of breaking with this racist party. In fact, he is running for reelection to his seat in Georgia as a Democrat. (What's more, Bond has said that he probably won't accept the draft.)

Daniels recently tried to explain the contradiction of running a Democrat in an "independent" campaign by arguing that "it wouldn't help us at all to go around attacking a [Ronald] Dellums or a [John] Conyers, who might support us on the national level," but who are tied to the Democratic machine on the local level.

"We sometimes get hung up on trying to be contradiction free," Daniels added.

These comments make it clear that what Daniels, at least, sees is not really an independent campaign at all, but merely a maneuver within the confines of the Democratic party.

He doesn't see the projected campaign as an effort to educate the Black community about the character of the Democratic and Republican parties, and about how to mobilize the Black community in a fight for our rights. He is suffering from the illusion that by

Continued on page 28

Reid: defend Boston Black community!

[The following statement, by Willie Mae Reid, is addressed to the National Black Political Convention in Cincinnati, which Reid will be attending. Reid is the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party.]

Brothers and Sisters,

The Black community in Boston is facing a crisis of immense proportions. It is a crisis that affects every Black person in this country.

Boston is the breeding ground for the growing racist opposition to implementing the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. In Boston, and in other major cities where school desegregation has finally been ordered by the courts, the racist forces are mobilizing their ranks for mob action to maintain segregation.

Their racist chants of "niggers go home" and "boneheads back to Africa" make their aim clear. Their violence is directed against all the gains that Black people have made through decades of struggle for our civil and human rights.

In Boston, the racists have attacked Black families moving into white neighborhoods; they have assaulted Blacks who crossed the color line onto "white" beaches; they have fire bombed the office of the Boston NAACP and have broken up biracial meetings called to discuss desegregation.

We must understand this: if the

racist thugs win their fight against school busing in Boston, they will carry out bigger and bolder actions against Black rights all across the country.

Black leaders in Boston have set April 24 for a national march and rally in that city to turn back the racists there.

This call to action deserves wholehearted support from every Black person who is committed to the fight for our liberation. It deserves the support of the National Black Political Convention.

We must do everything in our power to mobilize massive numbers in the streets of Boston on April 24 to demand desegregation of the schools and a halt to racist violence.



Militant Walter Lippmann

WILLIE MAE REID

FBI guideline hoax

Attorney General Edward Levi issued new guidelines for FBI activity on March 8.

The guidelines come after months of revelations about gross FBI violations of civil liberties. The administration's purpose in issuing them is clear: It is an attempt to create the impression that steps are being taken to curb FBI abuses of democratic rights.

In reality, the opposite is taking place. The guidelines are actually designed to give legal cover to what the FBI has been doing all along.

Confirmation of this fact comes from the General Accounting Office. After examining a draft version of the new guidelines, the GAO concluded, "No substantive difference existed between the draft guidelines and current FBI policy."

According to press reports, Levi's new guidelines differ from the draft in only one way. Eliminated are explicit provisions for *disrupting* groups the FBI says are going to engage in violence. But Levi held out hope that they might be put back in later.

In any case, the FBI felt free to carry out its secret Cointelpro disruption activities without the benefit of such authority. The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the sponsor of the Socialist Workers party suit against FBI disruption and spying, has produced evidence that Cointelpro-type harassment continued after the program was formally ended.

Throughout the controversy over the FBI, the agency has based the defense of its police-state tactics on the argument that they are necessary because the groups it has targeted are prone to violence.

The guidelines now state that the FBI may open investigations of any groups that are "substantially impairing—for the purpose of influencing the United States Government policies or decisions"—the federal government, state governments, or interstate commerce.

As Rep. Herman Badillo noted, that allows the FBI to spy on just about any group or demonstration it wants to.

In its response to the GAO study, reprinted in an appendix to the report, the FBI elaborated on its new line of reasoning:

"Limiting domestic intelligence investigations to preventing force and violence could restrict the gathering of intelligence information useful for anticipating threats to national security of a more subtle nature."

This shift in the basis of the FBI's attempt to justify illegal spying is a response to the SWP's legal offensive. Confronted with overwhelming evidence that the SWP doesn't engage in or advocate violence, the FBI is trying to use the excuse that it must block activities of a "more subtle nature." What these are isn't spelled out.

But it's known the FBI doesn't like socialists running for public office—that was a reason it gave for Cointelpro. Nor does it want to see socialists helping to organize demonstrations for Black rights or women's equality.

All supporters of democratic rights should get behind the PRDF suit—which aims to put an end to all illegal spying and harassment.

Spread the word!

With this issue, the *Militant* is launching a spring drive to increase our circulation. Branches of the Socialist Workers party and chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance have taken goals for weekly single-copy sales and introductory subscriptions. Nationally, we aim to sell at least 7,500 copies a week, and a total of 6,000 subscriptions.

Why is the *Militant* circulation drive so important?

The Militant tells the truth.

An important example: While the capitalist-owned news media suppress the facts on antibusing violence in Boston, the *Militant* tells the truth about the racist terror.

This spring, the *Militant* will also be spreading the truth about:

- The drive to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Socialist candidates in the 1976 elections.
- Significant new developments in the labor movement, such as the Steelworkers Fight Back movement led by Ed Sadlowski, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the stepped-up boycott efforts of the United Farm Workers.
- Revolutionary upsurges in Spain, Africa, and around the globe.

You can help get out the truth and build the socialist movement by selling the *Militant*—in your community, on the job, at your school. Fill out the coupon on page 31 or contact the SWP or YSA nearest you (directory on page 30).

Letters

Suggestion

I would like to suggest that in each issue of the *Militant* you include a short article on the nature of socialism for those readers who are not acquainted with socialism.

In particular, I would like to see you explain the democracy of socialism.

Most people think of socialism as state ownership of the means of production, but don't know anything about the democratic measures that socialism proposes to introduce to industry.

This democracy came as a big surprise to me when I first began to seriously study socialist literature six months ago.

I think it would be news to new readers and perhaps would arouse their interest for further study of socialism.

It would also serve to counter capitalist propaganda that seeks to associate socialism with repressive state control such as practiced in Russia and China.

Donald J. Piggatt
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Steelworkers buy 'Militant'

A team of three *Militant* supporters recently sold the paper at the U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburgh, California.

The team sold the current issue and handed out a sample issue with an article on the Ed Sadlowski campaign for United Steelworkers president [*Militant*, February 20].

Fourteen papers were sold in forty-five minutes to workers as they drove by in cars. The Sadlowski article attracted their attention.

One worker slammed on his brakes, backed up, and said, "I'm a Sadlowski supporter. I'll buy that paper!"

Another worker who took the sample issue stopped by later to pay for it.

The response was excellent.

We plan to send a team each week to the plant. Most important, the supporters who sold are enthusiastic and are looking forward to selling there again.

One person who hadn't sold for a long time went and now wants to be a regular team member.

Ernie Erlbeck
Berkeley, California

Florida UFW clinic

The United Farm Workers union plans to open a medical clinic in Avon Park, Florida, on July 1, 1976—with two doctors, two registered nurses, and other medical and nonmedical staff.

We have one doctor but need either another doctor or a physician's associate or a nurse practitioner to relieve him.

We also need nurses, a lab technician, a midwife, office help, aides, and especially a pharmacist.

Anyone not in the medical profession who wants to work in the clinic will be trained.

We are looking for doctors and nurses who understand the importance of farm workers taking control of their own lives, through their own organization. The UFW seeks to improve all aspects of farm workers' lives.

We can do much of that through contracts with growers, but not all of it. The contracts improve wages and working conditions, but that is only part of the problem.

The clinic will improve the quality and quantity of health care delivered to farm workers, and will deliver that care with dignity and respect.

Anyone interested in improved

health care for farm workers should contact:

Jane Arbeitman
820 S. Delaney Avenue
Avon Park, Florida 33825
(813) 453-4662

UFW thanks

On behalf of the United Farm Workers, I would like to thank you for publishing my letter advertising the needs of our medical clinics.

Because of the letter, we have already received good contacts who will be of great help in building our clinic in Coachella.

We hope to have your continued support until justice is achieved in America's farm fields.

Julie Mondaca
Los Angeles Boycott
Los Angeles, California

The need for bias

Some people attack the *Militant* as being a biased newspaper. What these people fail to realize or understand is that bias is an inherent characteristic of muckraking journalism.

If the American society, and the world for that matter, was not so full of repression, prejudice, violence, discrimination, and other such undesirable qualities, there would be no need to report the news in a biased fashion as presented in the *Militant*.

But such is not the case, unfortunately. I salute you for your efforts to present the truth, which some see as bias.

Hopefully, the day will come when the *Militant* can use so-called straight journalism, but until then keep printing the news in a biased fashion in your crusade to produce a freer and better society.

David Buck
Madison, Ohio

Tom Hayden series

Militant readers might be interested to know that Nelson Blackstock's excellent series on Tom Hayden's senatorial campaign has been reproduced in pamphlet form.

It is available from the Socialist Workers California Campaign, 4040 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90018. Single copies are ten cents; orders of more than twenty copies are eight cents each.

Bruce Marcus
Los Angeles, California

Indiana ERA support

Thirty-five supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment gathered recently at the Indiana University extension in Indianapolis to discuss ERA ratification in Indiana.

Nancy Papas from the Indiana State Teachers Association and attorney Susan Tabler stressed that college women have a particular stake in passage of the ERA because of discriminatory admission standards that make it more difficult for women to enter universities than men.

The event served as a planning meeting and was the first time ERA supporters gathered at this campus to discuss organizing their support.

Six members of STOP ERA tried unsuccessfully to disrupt the meeting. They loudly opposed not only the ERA, but court-ordered busing and a

Frank Lovell



A bad example for teachers

[Frank Lovell is recuperating from a heart attack. During his absence the National Picket Line will be written by guest columnists. This week's column is by Lou Howort, a teacher at Grady Vocational and Technical High School in Brooklyn and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.]

A strike by the Eastchester Teachers Association ended March 2 without significant gains for the teachers, who had been out for more than five weeks.

The issues were similar to those in most other recent teachers' strikes. The board of education in the suburban New York school district offered increased class size, erosion of working conditions, and no increase in salary. It said there was "no money."

About a week before the strike ended, an incident took place that says a lot about the problems teachers face today and the trap the American Federation of Teachers leadership has fallen into. State officials had set up an open meeting between teachers and parents to "clarify the issues." About 800 Eastchester residents turned out.

John Harold, a negotiator for the teachers union, told the parents, "If Eastchester wants quality education . . . it must raise taxes to pay for it."

"You teachers are earning more than many of the homeowners and we can't afford higher taxes," a woman shouted, to cheers from the crowd.

Another man said something about New York City being "bankrupt," and Harold shouted back, "I know that, but I also know that you have the ability to pay."

It is hard to imagine a more suicidal approach for teachers to take. Beat the taxpayers over the head enough and they'll give in. Very crude. And very foolish. By accepting the premise that the interests of teachers are counterposed to those of other taxpayers, it divides the teachers from their natural allies.

Nearly all funding for education now comes from the state and local governments. Only 8 percent comes from Washington. The local taxes are structured so as to fall hardest on working people: sales taxes, gasoline taxes, payroll taxes, and—especially important in

school funding—property taxes that fall on the small homeowner.

Thus, when school boards like the one in Eastchester oppose salary increases and better working conditions for teachers, they argue that they are just trying to hold down taxes. The answer given by the Eastchester teacher leaders—raise taxes—can only alienate the community from supporting their struggle. The result is less for teachers and less for education in Eastchester.

The question, then, is where to get the money. The answer: take it from the billions now spent by the federal government on arms and wars. This country has its priorities backwards, and the unions can do a lot to turn this around.

The Pentagon now gets more than \$100 billion a year from our tax payments. For this we get lots of jet bombers, missiles, submarines, tanks, and CIA spies. Not much good for educating our children.

Imagine how the Eastchester taxpayers would have responded if the teachers union there had campaigned against the war budget, called for full federal funding of the schools, and invited the parents to join with them in demanding a reversal of the nation's priorities. This course would have created allies—not enemies.

This seems so obvious that you wonder why the teachers unions haven't launched such a campaign on a national scale. But Albert Shanker, head of the American Federation of Teachers, actually calls for giving more tax money to the Pentagon.

Shanker and other AFL-CIO leaders, who tell us the Democratic party is a "friend of labor," accept the line of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties that we "need" the war budget for "fighting communism." Few teachers would agree.

America's priorities can be changed by the unions through independent political action. This means breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and running our own candidates on a labor party ticket. Not until labor candidates—selected by and responsible to the unions—are put in office will working people have true voices to represent us.

woman's right to choose abortion as well.

Twenty students signed up to help organize support for the May 16 ERA rally in Springfield, Illinois.

Carole McKee
Indianapolis, Indiana

Planning your future

Chase Manhattan Bank has a wonderful opportunity for all those preparing their own financial futures.

A subsidiary of the bank has published two studies: *The Next Ten Years—Inflation, Recession and Capital Shortages in the U.S.* and *Development, Recession and the World Economy.*

Straight from the horse's mouth you too can receive helpful hints for pinching pennies where it counts.

All this offer costs you is \$1,500; or take advantage of the bargain rate of both for only \$2,500.

Predictions made include double-digit inflation returning to the United States in 1977; the worst recession since 1940 in 1978; scarcity of credit, resulting in widespread bankruptcy; and unemployment reaching 12 percent.

It's a good bet these predictions are close to reality—the bank has a good track record in predicting downturns in the economy.

Anyway, if you control the future, why shouldn't you be able to predict it?
D.K.

Boston, Massachusetts

Toll on mental health

"Job insecurity, taxes, and the skyrocketing costs of food and essential commodities . . . are taking their toll on the mental health of the nation," a toll which is most acutely felt among forty-five- to sixty-year-old male workers, according to a recent study by two psychiatrists at the National Institute of Mental Health.

The two doctors found "worrying of epidemic proportions" and increased incidences of mental breakdown related to the current economic crisis.

The study, which was reported in the February 5 *Los Angeles Times*, confirmed earlier findings that even minor downturns cause increased admissions at mental hospitals.

"For the first time in their lives, millions of Americans are losing confidence in their ability to achieve a more prosperous future and even to maintain their present economic condition," the study concluded.

The report pointed to the resulting insecurity as the source of both physical and mental stress-related disorders.

R.B.
Los Angeles, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Supreme Court vs. women

Women's right to abortion was dealt a serious blow March 1 by the U.S. Supreme Court. The court refused to hear a challenge to an unconstitutional law that permits private hospitals to refuse to perform abortions on "religious" or "moral" grounds. Under the law, these hospitals may still receive federal funds.

The Supreme Court's decision should serve as a warning to all supporters of legal abortion: the reactionary campaign to take away the right to abortion is picking up steam and poses a genuine threat.

The case before the court was a federal court ruling against a suit by a Montana woman who wanted to be sterilized in a Roman Catholic hospital. The hospital was receiving federal funds, but it had a policy against sterilization. However, it was the only hospital in town where the woman could have the operation done.

Initially the court granted an injunction, the woman was sterilized, and she proceeded to sue the hospital for damages. Then, however, Democratic Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) got an amendment passed in Congress to permit federally funded private hospitals to refuse to perform such operations as abortions or sterilizations if they violate "moral" or "religious" beliefs.

The federal court reversed its earlier decision, deciding that the hospital was within its rights to refuse to carry out the sterilization.

The Church amendment, passed in 1973, was one of the first efforts after abortion was legalized to begin whittling away at the law. The amendment was clearly passed under pressure from the Catholic church hierarchy, which is spearheading the current attacks on abortion.

The Church amendment permits private hospitals

that our tax dollars support to refuse to obey the law of the land—that abortion is the legal right of every woman.

In many cities, private hospitals, especially those run by the Catholic church, are among the only available places to get treatment. The Supreme Court's decision has dealt a serious blow to women who have been fighting to get abortions in these hospitals for the past three years.

The upholding of the Church amendment also opens the door to new incursions on our rights. If it's all right for a private hospital to refuse to perform abortions, why not a public hospital? In fact, this is exactly what has happened in many states where local authorities have passed statutes prohibiting abortions, in clear violation of the federal law.

Three years ago, when the Supreme Court ruled that abortions are legal, it did so in the midst of a growing sentiment around the country that women must control our own bodies. The women's movement played a major role in winning support for this idea.

Today, the majority of the American people continue to support the right to abortion, but the reactionary forces who are organizing against school busing and against ratification of the ERA are also on a campaign to overturn that 1973 Supreme Court decision. They are on the offensive now.

Their attacks have begun to spark outrage among women, however. We fought long and hard to take abortions out of the back alleys, and we are not going to give up our right to safe, legal abortions. We have to go on a countermobilization to expose these phony "right-to-lifers" and assert our right to abortion with no interference from church or state.



Patron of the arts—President Ford gave his TV speech on how to make illegal CIA activity legal at 8:00 p.m. instead of the more desirable hour of 9:00 p.m. to avoid conflict with one of his favorite shows, "Police Woman." Previously, according to our confidential sources, his favorite was "I've Got a Secret."

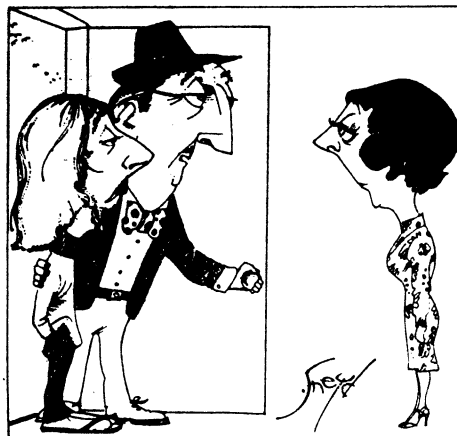
Balanced ticket—"I'm not a liberal, I'm not a moderate, I'm not a conservative. I'm a combination of all three." Sen. John Tunney (D-Calif.) campaigning for reelection.

Progress report—Americans consumed 607 billion coffin nails in 1975,

a 1 percent increase over the previous year. However, if the population increased at its previous rate of .9 percent, the modest increase suggests we're closing the gap.

A regular tease—Rep. Wilbur Mills told the *Arkansas Gazette* he would not seek a twentieth term in Congress. (Politics interfered with his private life?) But the next day he wavered. "I've just not been able to make up my mind," he said. "I didn't say it was final."

The very best they can do—Months back we reported the Los Angeles City Council enacted an



'I think we finally bridged the generation gap—we're both out of work.'

ordinance waiving ambulance fees for those injured while trying to help others. Now the measure has been signed by Mayor Tom Bradley, who lauded the council's action as "an example of government at its humane best." Far out.

A full program—Christians in Government, a Los Angeles-based organization, initiates prayer and Bible-study groups in government buildings. They pray, a spokesperson explained, for personal needs, the salvation of colleagues, and for federal, state, county, and city officials. In and out of jail, we presume.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



My opponent and busing

In the past few weeks, the antibusing movement in Boston has escalated its drive to keep the schools segregated. Black students have been beaten, reviled, and spit upon.

What is involved is the basic democratic right of Black students to get on a yellow bus and go to a school where they have high hopes of getting an equal education. The bus is not the problem; Black students have been bused for decades—past all-white schools. The problem is racism.

At this time when the Black community in Boston needs the support of all those committed to defending Black rights, my opponent in Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District, Democratic Rep. Edward Koch, is retreating on busing and desegregation.

Koch stated recently in the U.S. Congress that he is no longer certain that "compulsory busing and racial balance in schools help to achieve the goals of quality education for all."

This is, after all, an election year, and the antibusing forces are organized and have money. And they have political clout at the ballot box. Koch is joining the stampede of liberals and conservatives alike in a headlong retreat nationwide on the question of Black civil rights. This is a cowardly retreat.

My stand on busing and desegregation is quite simple: a campaign of action is urgently needed to arouse supporters of desegregation in Boston and around the country. We need rallies, meetings, and demonstrations to cut through the news blackout and get out the truth.

School segregation was declared illegal in 1954, but it was only through the massive actions of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s that the ruling began to be implemented. Now it is clear that it will take a continued, massive fight to prevent that ruling from being sabotaged.

What is happening in Boston today is not just a Boston issue—it is a national emergency. We must build a movement demanding: Desegregate the schools; keep the buses rolling; stop the racist violence with all force necessary, including federal troops.

At the same time that Koch made his statement on busing, bat- and pipe-wielding thugs were roaming the Boston schools corridors looking for Black students. Koch's retreat can only give fuel to the mood of violence and tension displayed by bigots in cities across the country where school desegregation is the law.

Now let's look at the other side of the coin. If Edward Koch is no longer certain that "compulsory

busing and racial balance in schools" are helpful . . . does this mean that he supports Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents engaged in struggles to get more funding for their schools and to have control over the education of their children?

This is not an idle question, because the center of the most dynamic struggles for community control of the schools—New York's school District One—is in Koch's congressional district.

Even during the times when parents were under siege in District One—being locked out of their children's schools, beaten up by police, and arrested—Koch was nowhere to be found. He has never marched in a picket line with parents who were demanding an end to the racist practices of the majority of the district's school board. He has never extended any kind of help to the parent-supported Por los Niños slates during the school board elections. In fact, during the 1974 congressional race he would reply publicly to questions on his view of District One that he thought the parents in District One were "unruly and disruptive."

The fight for desegregation and the struggle for community control are sister struggles—in both struggles, the victims of racism are fighting for an equal education for their children. Edward Koch has made it perfectly clear—he is opposed to both.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Tom Hayden and the Rodino bill

LOS ANGELES—"I do not believe in election-time grandstanding for the most votes."

That's from a position paper on undocumented workers, the people the capitalist-owned media call "illegal aliens." It was issued by the campaign offices of Tom Hayden, the old new-leftist who is now campaigning for the Democratic nomination for U.S. senator from California.

But please don't expect straight talk on the issue. If you do, you'll only be disappointed.

For Hayden is becoming increasingly adept at that specialized art of capitalist politics—talking equally fast out of both sides of the mouth to avoid offending voters on either side of a hot issue.

Hayden's position paper gives his view on the Rodino deportation bill now before Congress. His stand on it is not exactly unambiguous.

The statement does forthrightly declare, "I stand second to none in supporting full employment as the law of the land."

That would hardly draw an argument from anyone to the left of the John Birch Society. But when it comes to the Rodino bill, Tom isn't quite "second to none" in his opposition. Rather, he has

statesmanlike "grave doubts" that the Rodino bill "will solve any of our economic problems."

Grave doubts.

Our Doubting Thomas feels the Rodino bill has "loopholes" in it that "would encourage discrimination against nonwhite people."

Loopholes? Encouraging discrimination? Discrimination is what the Rodino bill is all about. If Hayden sees the "discriminatory" parts of Rodino as "loopholes," someone might persuade him that a few judicious amendments could result in a "good" Rodino bill.

Hayden says he favors certain rights for undocumented workers, although, again, there is an ambiguity involved.

For example, the January 28 *Los Angeles Times* reported on the opening of a Hayden campaign headquarters in the Chicano community.

According to the *Times*, at the opening Hayden said he favors legalizing the status of undocumented workers who have been here one year.

However, in his position paper on the question, Hayden says he favors such "amnesty" after "several years, perhaps three."

Did *Times* reporter Frank Del Olmo hear him wrong when he said one year, or does Hayden's amnesty position vary with his proximity to the Chicano community?

Or has Hayden actually reduced it to one year—with a qualifying amendment?

According to Del Olmo, Hayden said he favors the one-year amnesty "for those who are working and paying taxes, and have no serious criminal record."

That's a pretty big "if" for a lot of undocumented workers.

Anyone scooped up by *la migra* who arrived 364 days ago would be out. So would any of the great number who have the misfortune to be unemployed.

And what about the countless number who have fallen victim to the racist "justice" system in this country?

It is particularly disgusting to see Hayden expressing support for deporting "criminals." Does he forget how close he came to being framed up as a "criminal" in the notorious Chicago Seven trial, in which he was one of the defendants?

Come to think of it, Tom's not working either.

Supreme Court ruling

Farm workers boycott faces curb on picketing

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Facing a possible ominous legal curb on their rights, the United Farm Workers are pressing ahead with their fight to force necessary funding of California's now-defunct Agricultural Labor Relations Board. The ALRB is supposed to conduct union representation elections for farm workers.

The new threat to the UFW comes from the U.S. Supreme Court's March 3 ruling that striking workers have no First Amendment right to picket stores in privately owned shopping centers.

While the reactionary ruling was not directed specifically at the UFW, it

constitutes a major threat to the union, which relies heavily on the boycott weapon in its fight to win union contracts for field hands. Most of the boycott activity is conducted at supermarkets, many of which are in shopping centers.

The high court ruling was directed against a group of Atlanta-area-strikers picketing a shoe store in a shopping center. It reverses a 1968 ruling by the court that established that shopping centers have become the "functional equivalents" of public sidewalks. The present ruling will also apparently affect distribution of leaf-

lets and sale of publications in shopping centers.

Meanwhile, store owners here seem to be awaiting the text of the ruling before trying to apply it to the UFW. Picketing of stores has continued for several days since the ruling without an attempt to apply it against the union and its supporters.

The UFW has initiated a campaign here against Mayfair, a local supermarket chain that rejected a UFW demand that it quit handling Sunmaid and Sunsweet products.

Sunmaid and Sunsweet are major central California grower cooperatives. Both played a key role in getting the California legislature to deny necessary funds for the continued functioning of the ALRB. The public is being asked not to buy dried fruits, nuts, or juices carrying these labels.

While facing this major threat from the Supreme Court in Washington, the UFW won a significant court victory in California, although it may be cheated out of it.

On March 4, the California Supreme Court upheld a bitterly contested ALRB ruling that union organizers have the right of access to workers on company property where an election is pending.

The access right has been vital to the UFW's successes in the elections and has been a major target of grower representatives in the state legislature.

However, the legislators may not have to act on the issue.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the ALRB will now consider revising the access ruling so that organizers would be allowed on company proper-

ty only when it can be proven that there is no alternative means for the union to reach the workers. This would effectively kill the ruling.

If the *Times* report is accurate, it could explain recent expressions of "optimism" by Gov. Edmund Brown that the legislative deadlock will soon be broken and new funds appropriated for the ALRB.

The growers would no doubt prefer not to have any elections at all, but if they can cut the heart out of the law and assure that the UFW will have no real chance of fair elections, they will probably be willing to live with it.

All of this complex maneuvering by the growers and their allies is made necessary because of the broad support enjoyed by the UFW.

This reporter spent a Saturday afternoon with UFW demonstrators at two Mayfair markets. The results of the actions were apparent and impressive.

About 100 UFW members and supporters picketed at the parking-lot entrances and directly in front of the two stores. Within an hour of their appearance, both stores were virtually empty of customers. Those four hours of picketing on what would normally be a busy shopping day cost Mayfair, at a rough guess, at least several thousand dollars in sales.

The union is now making plans for a National Farm Workers Week, May 2-8. UFW backers across the country will be asked to conduct special support activities throughout the week.

The continuing attacks on the UFW emphasize the importance of everyone pitching in to make Farm Workers Week a big success.



Militant/Glenn Campbell

New reactionary Supreme Court ruling may ban picketing at stores inside shopping centers. Such picketing has been important to success of boycott movement.

Freedom Rider sues FBI for role in beating

By Nelson Blackstock

On May 14, 1961, James Peck got off a bus and walked into the Trailways station in Birmingham, Alabama. Minutes later he was lying unconscious in a pool of blood in a nearby alley.

Peck was one of a group of Freedom Riders challenging segregated public facilities in bus stations in the deep South.

Almost fifteen years passed before Peck found out the full story about what had happened to him. Last December he picked up a newspaper and read about the testimony of Gary Rowe before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Rowe had been part of the Ku Klux Klan mob that almost beat Peck to death. He had also been working for the FBI.

Rowe's testimony directly implicated the FBI in the Klan assault on Peck.

As a result of the revelations of the former KKK member and FBI informer, Peck is now suing the FBI. Peck and his attorney, Leonard Boudin, announced the filing of the suit at a March 2 news conference in New York.

Also present was Edith Tiger, director of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the sponsor of the suit. It asks \$600,000 in damages and demands that in the future the FBI take steps to block violations of constitutional rights such as the attack on Peck.

Rowe testified that the FBI was informed of the carefully planned Klan assault a full three weeks in advance. The FBI knew the details of an agreement worked out between the KKK and Birmingham police, Rowe said.

"We were promised fifteen minutes to beat them, bomb them, burn them, shoot them, do anything we wanted to with absolutely no intervention what-

soever by police," Rowe testified.

"I was almost killed because of the action of the FBI in supporting the Klan and the police force in this case," Peck told the news conference. Peck required fifty-three stitches in his head.

"It just happened that I lived. So I feel an obligation to file this suit in an attempt to prevent a repeat performance of the FBI acting to support something that is unjust and illegal. At that time it was racial segregation."

Federal courts had ruled segregation in bus stations illegal. But the ruling remained largely a dead letter until a series of Freedom Rides—beginning with the one Peck was on—openly challenged the segregation policies.

"I was not greatly surprised about the FBI in view of recent revelations of dirty tricks by that agency against Martin Luther King, Jr.," Peck said.

Peck stressed that his suit is relevant to a "policy which the FBI still pursues today."

Evidence of this is the FBI's persecution of members of the Socialist Workers party," Peck explained, "in which agents anonymously contacted employers in an attempt to get party members fired from their jobs."

Peck also referred to FBI harassment of individuals working for amnesty for Vietnam war resisters.

Leonard Boudin is also handling an SWP suit against illegal FBI actions.

Peck's suit, Boudin explained, involved the FBI's "failure to carry out its duty to protect American citizens—and everybody in America—in the exercise of their constitutional rights." In this case the rights to travel across state lines and equality of treatment for Blacks were involved.

Peck exhibited a copy of a picture taken by a Birmingham newspaper photographer while he was being

beaten. His attackers' faces are clearly visible in the photograph, which was printed in papers throughout the country.

"If the FBI had really wanted to apprehend these people, it would have been a very simple job," Peck asserted.

In his remarks before the Senate committee, Rowe estimated as numbering in the "high dozens" the incidents of Klan violence about which he had given the FBI prior warning.

Peck, a veteran pacifist, told about a

Freedom Ride he took part in back in 1947, although it wasn't called by that name at the time. The Freedom Riders then were challenging segregated seating arrangements on the buses involved in interstate travel.

Peck was arrested during the 1947 trip. "I've never forgotten how extreme the segregation was," Peck recalled. "I was taken into a court where they had segregated Bibles to swear in on. One with 'white' written on it. The other with 'colored.'"



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

James Peck at news conference announcing suit and (inset) after beating by KKK in 1961. Peck's case demonstrates how FBI works with ultraright in attacks on left.

Why teachers should support a socialist for president



Militant/Jon Flanders

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president. Below are excerpts from Camejo's response to questions from the National Education Association.

[Following are excerpts of answers by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, to a questionnaire from the 1.8-million-member National Education Association. The NEA is soliciting the views of all candidates in preparation for a meeting of the group's representative assembly, which has been empowered to endorse a candidate for president. Such an endorsement would be the first in the NEA's history.]

Question. If elected president, what steps would you take and/or what measures would you initiate to improve the quality of American public education?

Answer. The crisis of the capitalist economy is having a devastating impact on education. Teachers, students, and parents are the victims.

Across the country—in big cities and small towns—funding for schools is being slashed. School boards, claiming that there is “no money,” are keeping salary increases even below the rate of inflation. The real buying power of teachers' paychecks is falling.

Demanding greater “productivity,” school boards are drastically increasing class sizes and reducing preparation time. As a result, fewer teachers shoulder a greater burden, while the ranks of unemployed teachers swell. There are already nearly a quarter of a million teachers in this country who are out of work.

The hardest hit by these cutbacks are the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities. Bilingual and bicultural courses are among the first to be wiped out. The number of minority teachers and administrators, already miserably inadequate because of years of discrimination in hiring and training, is being reduced still further by the wave of layoffs.

Accompanying these attacks on the educational rights of minorities is a stepped-up campaign to block school desegregation: the racist movement against busing.

The claim that there is “no money” for education and other social services is a lie. This country is the richest and most productive the world has ever seen. Our resources are more than adequate to provide a decent standard of living—including a good education through the university level—for every person. The problem is who controls these resources and how they are allocated.

The priorities of the Democratic and Republican parties are clearly shown

by the fact that the federal government spends twice as much each year for the Pentagon as all levels of government spend for public elementary and secondary education (\$52 billion in 1974-75, according to NEA estimate).

As a first step in improving the quality of American public education, I favor taking the more than \$100 billion now spent each year on war, and using that money to launch a crash program to upgrade education, as well as housing, health care, and other vital social services.

Class sizes should be reduced to put every jobless teacher back to work and to improve education for all students. Every teacher without a job should get unemployment compensation at union-scale wages.

Teachers, and all other school employees, should have automatic cost-of-living escalator provisions to protect their incomes against inflation.

Q. Do you support a federal statute to grant teachers and other public employees collective bargaining rights? Do you support the right of public employees to strike? If you don't favor the right to strike or place a limitation on that right, what alternative do you propose?

A. I would wholeheartedly support a federal law guaranteeing teachers and all other employees the right to strike. All laws infringing on the right of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike—including state antistrike laws like New York's infamous Taylor Act and the federal Taft-Hartley law—should be repealed.

The right to strike is unconditional: it must not be curtailed by compulsory arbitration in any guise. I am also opposed to any form of wage controls.

Q. What initiatives would your administration take to maintain the guarantees of the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, and amendments to them, despite attempts to water down these statutes? Would you insist upon strict enforcement of all civil rights laws and court mandates?

A. The attempts now under way to drive down the standard of public education go hand in hand with stepped-up attacks on the struggle of women and minorities to achieve equal opportunity. As always, the cutbacks hit hardest at those already at the bottom.

Through the struggles of the 1960s, minorities and women won affirmative-action hiring plans designed to overcome years of discrimi-

nation in hiring based on race and sex. As a result, some progress—though only a start—was made in breaking down the “whites only” and “males only” barriers in education and other areas.

With the cutbacks and layoffs, however, these gains are being reversed. Blacks and women, always the last hired, are once again the first fired.

Some leaders of the union movement have tried to justify these discriminatory layoffs on the grounds of “seniority.” But seniority must not become the excuse for reimposing racist and sexist discrimination in hiring and job advancement.

The seniority system must be modified so that layoffs do not reduce by even one percentage point the number of women or minority workers at any level or in any workplace.

A second front in the battle over minority rights has been opened by the racist forces who are trying to block the use of busing to achieve school desegregation. These forces have been most aggressive in Boston, where they are using anti-Black violence and terror in an attempt to compel the Black community to give up the fight for equal education.

These racists have been encouraged by the antibusing stand of President Ford and other top officials of both the Democratic and Republican parties, and the government's refusal to provide adequate protection to the Black students being bused into previously all-white schools.

The racists believe that through their tactics of violence, harassment, and intimidation they can force a retreat on court-ordered busing, and effectively prevent further attempts to enforce the law on desegregation. If they succeed in achieving their goal, it will be a blow to the struggle for Black civil rights, and a defeat for the fight against discrimination everywhere.

I favor the use of all force necessary, including the sending of federal troops to Boston and anywhere else it may be required to protect Black students and implement desegregation without further delay. I also support demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies called by defenders of desegregation in Boston and around the country to support busing.

Racist forces have also launched a drive against bilingual and bicultural education. These are invariably among the first programs sacrificed when school budgets are cut. Bilingual education must be available to all non-English-speaking students in both elementary and secondary schools.

Q. What initiatives would you and your administration take to eliminate sex discrimination, specifically to eradicate inequality in the world of work, leadership in our institutions and participation in politics and our educational system?

A. Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment will be an important step in the fight against sexist discrimination. I believe it will take a massive struggle, including demonstrations in the streets, to beat back the reactionary movement to block ratification. I was particularly glad to learn that the NEA's Annual Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education voted to support the upcoming pro-ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, on May 16.

I also favor establishment of round-the-clock child-care centers to be financed by the government and available to all parents who wish to use this service. I am against all restrictions on women's right to abortion.

Q. What are your major aims and objectives as president?

If you are chosen your party's nominee, why should teachers support you for president?

A. The NEA's growing involvement in political activity represents a step forward for teachers: an awareness that the attacks on education must be fought not only on the job and on the picket line but also in the political arena. However, activity that is limited to endorsement of Democratic and Republican politicians, and to actions such as lobbying that remain within the confines of two-party pressure politics, cannot effectively serve the interests of teachers.

One of the most talked about features of political life today is the transformation of liberal Democrats into “fiscal conservatives.” Democratic Governors Edmund Brown in California, Hugh Carey in New York, and Michael Dukakis in Massachusetts are the best-known examples, but the pattern is the same from coast to coast. Politicians who were elected with the support of teachers and other unionists are now cutting school budgets, firing public employees, and breaking strikes.

Nor is the reactionary trend limited to state and local governments. The Democrats try to blame social service cutbacks on Ford's vetoes, but the fact is that the Democrats have solid control in both houses of Congress.

The antilabor and antieducation

Continued on page 30

Stewart: veteran Black rights fighter

[Larry Stewart is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in New Jersey's Tenth Congressional District. A member of the Teamsters union, the Black candidate has been in the socialist movement for thirty-six years.

[In a recent interview at his Newark campaign headquarters, Stewart talked about his early life and activity in the SWP.]

Question. Do you recall how you first got into politics?

Answer. When I was in high school in New Haven, Connecticut, I went to hear a speaker—a Black man from the West Indies.

One of the things he talked about was how Black people had risen up and fought during slavery. These rebellions were not few and far between.

Hearing about this had a profound impact on me. It was contrary to everything I'd been taught in public school, where we were led to believe that Black people had just passively accepted their lot under slavery.

From then on I was proud of the history of Black people.

That year—1939—I graduated from high school and joined the Socialist Workers party.

Q. You moved to New Jersey and became a steelworker. What were things like for Black people in the labor movement then?

A. There were very few Blacks in industry. Those who managed to get jobs were restricted to doing things like sweeping floors and cleaning toilets. That's why I and others like me were quick to join the March on Washington Movement initiated by A. Philip Randolph.

Q. Could you tell us about that?

A. Randolph was the best-known Black labor leader of the day. The United States was preparing for war, to "fight for freedom." He said that the first freedom a person should have is the right to make a living. Even though many Blacks were opposed to the coming war, we had a right to the new jobs war production was opening up.

A march was called to demand an end to discrimination in the armed services and equal job opportunities for Blacks.

The March on Washington Movement caught on like wildfire! It revealed a powerful determination among Black people to do something about their oppression. A big demonstration was shaping up.

Randolph became the target of enormous pressure to cancel the march. When Roosevelt issued his Executive Order 8802, Randolph finally gave in and called it off.



Soldiers building road in South Pacific during World War II. Blacks were segregated into Jim Crow units and assigned most disagreeable tasks.

Roosevelt's order was a concession. He didn't relish the prospect of thousands of Blacks and white supporters marching in the streets of Washington while he was "saving the world for democracy."

Order 8802 made it government policy to negotiate provisions against racial discrimination into contracts it signed with "defense" industries. But it lacked teeth, so there was no way to enforce it. Even worse, it had nothing to say about the Jim Crow segregation system still existing in the armed forces.

But Black people saw it as a gain, and the whole experience gave them a taste of their strength.

Q. What did you do during the war?

A. For a while I served in the maritime service. But after my ship was torpedoed, they gave me a discharge. I returned to civilian work.

No sooner was war proclaimed than the misleaders of the unions made a no-strike pledge. There were no more enthusiastic backers of this policy than the Communist party. It gave the bosses a handle to whittle away at working conditions and maximize profits in the name of patriotism.

Not everybody went along with it, but the next big strike I was involved in was after the war.

Q. What happened then?

A. The end of the war brought massive cutbacks in production. As usual, Blacks, other minorities, and women were hit the hardest by the layoffs.

At this time I was working in the Westinghouse Meter Division in Newark. Westinghouse was one of the first companies hit by the postwar strike wave. Like many corporations today, they pleaded poverty to the workers' demands for increases in pay to meet inflation.

They called us strikers "unpatriotic." The bosses wanted to see a continuation of the same spirit of patriotism they had demanded during the war.

An interesting thing happened. The union looked into some of the financial dealings of Westinghouse. It turned out that all during the war the company had a deal going with a major aircraft corporation in Japan. Even though they had suspended overt relations, funds had been kept in escrow for payment of profits after the war.

Hearing about this had a tremendous effect on the picket lines. We learned what their cries for patriotism were all about.

This is one example of what can happen when secret corporate transactions are exposed. It shows why the demand that the bosses open their books for inspection by workers can be important.

Q. It was after the war that the James Kutcher defense became an important area of work for the SWP. Kutcher lived in Newark. You must remember that well.

A. Yes. Very well. This was in the late forties. The government began an all-out drive to attack not only communists but anyone who dissented from its policies. Careers of demagogues like Richard Nixon and Joseph McCarthy were built by getting scores of people fired. One victim of this witch-hunt was Jimmy Kutcher.

The lengths to which the government went to destroy this man! It's nothing short of criminal.

Jimmy had fought in Italy—on the beachheads. He lost both legs.

After the war he got a job working for the Veterans Administration here. But when the government found out he was a socialist, they fired him. They even went so far as to try to throw him and his parents out of a government housing project they lived in.

I was active in his defense committee here in Newark.

To stem the tide of McCarthyite persecutions, the whole labor movement, the Black movement, and everyone who supported civil rights had to take a stand against them.

We took the government to court, and after a long fight Jimmy got his job back, as well as the lost pay that was due him.

Q. Let's bring it down to your current campaign. Why are you running against Peter Rodino?



Larry Stewart, candidate for Congress from New Jersey's Tenth Congressional District, joined socialists in 1939.

A. Rodino is a big name in politics. But his brand of politics is the capitalist kind. Like the rest of the Democrats, Rodino has no solutions for the problems we face.

Take the cutbacks. They've hit day care, education, transportation—you name it. But Rodino has not done a thing to stop them.

Unemployment in my district is astounding. Especially among Blacks and Puerto Ricans. What has Rodino done?

Q. What about the Rodino bill?

A. It's just what the bosses ordered. Supposedly it penalizes employers for hiring the so-called illegal aliens—workers without proper papers from the Immigration authorities. Actually, the bosses would get off scot-free. It would just make it easier for them to exploit these poor workers by putting their livelihood in even greater jeopardy. They could be forced to work for even less.

The whole purpose of the thing is to make them the scapegoat for unemployment, a problem created by the capitalists themselves.

I stand for full citizenship rights for undocumented workers.

My solution to unemployment and cutbacks is to take the \$100 billion war budget and use it for socially useful needs.

Q. Rodino's a lawyer. You're a truck driver. What do you say to people who accuse you of not being qualified to go to Congress?

A. It's lawyers like Rodino—the paid servants of the rich—who got this country in the shape it's in now.

We need working people in Congress. We're the ones who do the work. We should make the decisions.

Camejo speaks to Newark rally

NEWARK—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was a featured speaker along with SWP congressional candidate Larry Stewart at a February 28 rally attended by ninety people at the Robert Treat Hotel here.

Camejo, who had just come from Boston, called for support to actions being planned to defend the Black community from the racist terror in that city.

Richard Ariza, a coordinator of the Organizing Committee Against the Cutbacks at the Newark campus of Rutgers University, told of plans for a March 17 rally here to combat the cutbacks. About half the audience was made up of people who were attending their first socialist rally. Two decided to join the SWP that night.

Pulley: a real alternative in Chicago

By Suzanne Haig
and Joel Britton

CHICAGO—"The problem confronting the people of the First Congressional District are so immense that their solution cries out for radical change, a change that will place human needs before profit."

So declared Andrew Pulley last month as he announced his campaign for U.S. Congress on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

The Black socialist cited some of the problems facing residents in the mostly Black district:

"The Black community has entered an advanced stage of depression, with unemployment affecting more than 25 percent of our people while the super-rich continue to reap their profits.

"Our housing is dilapidated and segregated in the so-called City that Works. Our children attend the worst schools, and each day Black people are harassed and brutalized by Chicago's notorious racist cops."

"This abominable situation," asserted Pulley, "is the result of Democratic and Republican politicians following policies that benefit themselves and the profit system. I advocate solutions to the problems facing the people who are oppressed and exploited on the South Side of Chicago, not the bankers and real estate sharks who own and run it."

Pulley announced his campaign from the SWP's storefront headquarters in Hyde Park in the South Side's Fifth Ward. A year ago Willie Mae Reid, now the SWP vice-presidential candidate, polled 14.5 percent of the vote in that ward in her race for mayor against Democratic "Boss" Richard Daley and Republican John Hoellen.

Consistent activist

Pulley has been a consistent activist in the fight against racism and war. Last year he served as Chicago coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism. He helped organize protest meetings and actions in defense of the Black community in Boston and for busing to achieve school desegregation.

He helped publicize and build opposition to the racist attacks in Chicago on Black families moving into previously all-white areas. And he played a leading role in mobilizing support here for the defense effort of Joanne Little.

Pulley was a leader of the opposition to the war in Vietnam and racism in the army while a GI in the late 1960s. He was one of the Fort Jackson Eight, GIs who won the right to express their antiwar and antiracist views within the army.

A former national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president in 1972, Pulley has been high on the "enemies lists" of the FBI and CIA, who have spied on him during speaking tours in this country and abroad. CIA "Operation Chaos" and FBI "Cointelpro" documents on Pulley have been made public in the past year as a result of the SWP's lawsuit against government spying and harassment, in which Pulley is a plaintiff.

The government snooping has revealed only that Pulley is an intransigent enemy of the capitalist status quo.

Most recently, he has been speaking out against U.S. war moves in Angola. Soon after announcing his campaign for Congress, Pulley joined a spirited demonstration in downtown Chicago demanding "U.S.-South Africa: Hands Off Angola!"

Pulley supporters will be gathering signatures on nominating petitions



Militant/Larry Seigle



Andrew Pulley, Illinois SWP candidate for Congress. Left, as one of Fort Jackson Eight, GIs victimized for their opposition to Vietnam War in 1969. Center, speaking in Sri Lanka in 1970, where, CIA documents show, he was being watched by U.S. spies. Right, addressing 1974 San Francisco demonstration against antibusing violence in Boston.

this spring to assure the Black socialist a place on the November ballot.

Meanwhile, a battle is raging for the Democratic nomination in a primary election to be held March 16. Ralph Metcalfe, the incumbent, is being challenged by Erwin France, who until recently was the head of Chicago's Model Cities program and assistant to Mayor Daley. (Only one candidate entered the Republican primary, A.A. Sammy Rayner, who is not bothering to campaign, pending the outcome of the Democratic race.)

Metcalfe vs. France

The Metcalfe-France contest has attracted national attention because of the falling-out between Metcalfe and his longtime sponsor and mentor, "Boss" Daley. In 1974 Metcalfe won reelection to Congress as the regular Democratic (that is, the Daley machine) candidate, despite earlier frictions over the issue of police brutality in the Black community.

Last year, after refusing to run in the Democratic primary against Daley as the candidate of the Committee for a Black Mayor, Metcalfe backed white liberal alderman William Singer. Daley punished Metcalfe by stripping him of the patronage powers he had enjoyed as third ward committeeman.

Even after all this, Metcalfe voted for Daley in the general election for mayor and, along with France, recently sought to be slated as the regular Democratic candidate for Congress and committeeman.

The anti-Daley-machine Democrats have tried to portray the 1st C.D. race as one pitting the "independent" and pro-"liberation" Metcalfe against "puppet" France, who would return the district to "plantation politics."

The task of the "independent" Democrats is not an enviable one. They must contend with widespread knowledge of Metcalfe's sordid record as a member of the Daley machine since the mid-1950s and a leader of Daley's forces in the city council for many years.

During the civil rights protests of the 1960s, Metcalfe could be counted on to do his "Boss's" bidding. Metcalfe's

nefarious acts included opposing the just demands for open housing and an end to segregated schools put forward by the movement associated with Dr. Martin Luther King.

Most importantly, Metcalfe and his "independent" Democratic backers don't offer a meaningful alternative to France and the Daley machine in terms of political program; that is, what solutions to put forward to cope with the staggering social problems facing the Black community and how to achieve them.

Pulley's campaign addresses itself to these questions and is meeting with a favorable response from many on the streets of the 1st C.D.

On February 14, Pulley and a team of supporters campaigned at Seventy-first Street and Jeffery and at Sixty-third and Halsted, busy shopping areas.

"Massive government spending to build housing, schools, and hospitals would create many jobs," Pulley replied when asked how he differed with France, who promises a few more jobs through existing poverty programs.

"More jobs can be created by reducing the workweek from forty hours to thirty hours with no reduction in pay," Pulley continued. "Money to finance this genuinely antipoverty program should come from corporate profits and the \$100 billion war budget."

Responding to questions about Metcalfe's "independence" from the Daley machine, Pulley said, "What does it matter whether a Democrat is hand-picked by Daley or is picked by other rich backers to run as a so-called independent, so long as the policies he follows cannot dramatically improve the quality of life for the poor Black people of this district?"

"Have Metcalfe's policies been essentially different since he 'broke' with Daley than those he followed as a Daley 'boy'? In fact, brothers and sisters, our condition has deteriorated in the years since Daley and Metcalfe began falling out. Housing is more substandard. Schools are more inferior and segregated. Cop brutality contin-

ues. And unemployment has more than doubled.

"The cold truth of the matter is that the policies of Metcalfe, like those of France, fit into the pattern of the measures implemented all over this country by Democrats and Republicans that favor big-business and capitalist politicians, not Black and working people."

CBTU rally

Earlier in the day, Pulley campaigned outside a "Labor Rally for Metcalfe" organized by Charles Hayes and other leaders of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. One man took a leaflet but said, "I was with you in the mayoral race with Willie Mae Reid, but I'm not with you now."

Another, Ralph Metcalfe, Jr., who is campaigning for his father, had some advice for Pulley: "Drop out of the race and support my dad to defeat the bosses' puppet."

Pulley replied, "You know your father's policies aren't going to bring about changes that will upgrade the quality of life for Black people." Ralph, Jr. let the cat out of the bag when he shot back, "It's not a question of policies, but whether you can win. You are too idealistic, you have to be practical."

But Pulley is "practical" in his own way. He knows that only genuinely independent actions—in the streets and at the ballot box—will result in meaningful gains.

He points out to anyone willing to listen that ending Jim Crow segregation required mass struggle, organizing the industrial unions of the CIO required militant strike action, and coping with today's economic crisis will require independent action, not reliance on Democratic or Republican politicians of any variety.

Pulley tells his listeners, "It is time to stop supporting the parties that are responsible for the very conditions you despise. Don't vote against yourself by participating in the Democratic or Republican primaries in March. Vote in November for yourself and the socialist alternative."

A man with answers to N.Y.C. crisis

By Linda Jenness

NEW YORK—On February 24, a hearing called by the New York Central Board of Education was packed with 300 people, most of them Blacks or Puerto Ricans.

Fed up with being "last hired, first fired, again!" as they put it, the Coalition of Associations of Black and Puerto Rican Educators and Supervisors was challenging the board's discriminatory hiring and firing practices.

In addition, parents from school District One on the Lower East Side were at the hearing to protest the withholding of \$334,000 in federal funds earmarked for bilingual education.

One of the community activists testifying at the hearing was Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth Congressional District, which includes District One.

To cheers and applause, Garza told the board members:

"The head of the city's Human Rights Commission, Eleanor Holmes Norton, has released data that dramatically illustrate what we all know from day-to-day experience. The fiscal crisis is having a devastating effect on minority employment. This is due to the fact that Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women have been the last hired and are now the first fired."

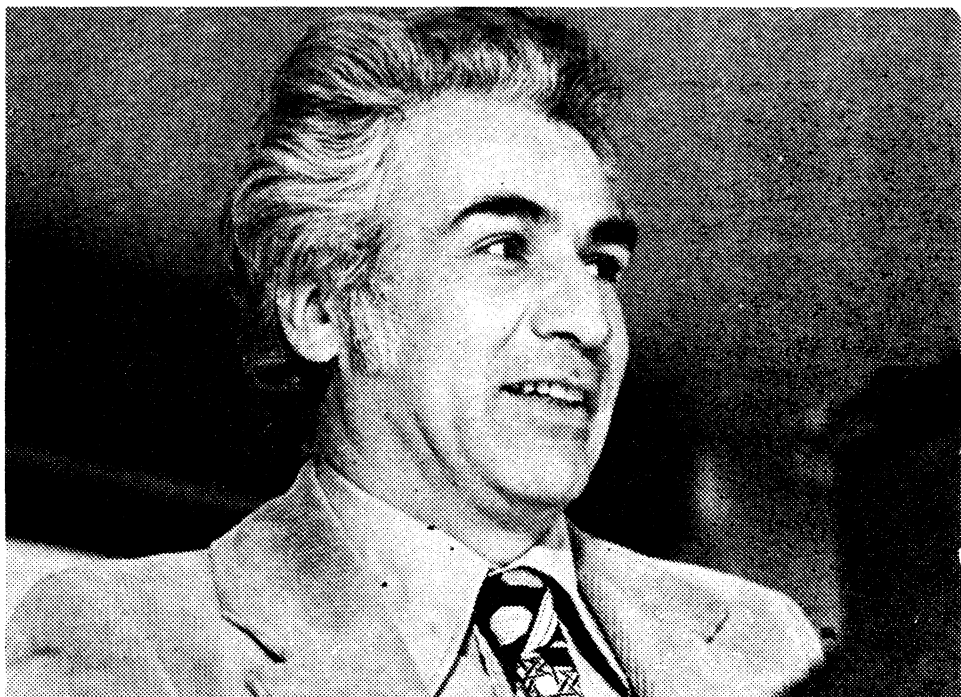
Garza demanded that the present ratio of Black and Puerto Rican administrators and principals be maintained.

"This board should also investigate why Supt. Leonard Lurie of District One has refused to accept over \$300,000 in funds from the federal government," Garza added. "Superintendent Lurie refused the money solely because of his hostility to bilingual programs. The bilingual programs are intended to help our people out of the ghettos, and the superintendent has sabotaged a program that is very much needed."

Earlier in the month, Garza had testified before the same board about the education budget. (See box.)

Cutbacks in education

The cutbacks in New York are having a particularly brutal effect on the Puerto Rican and Black communities, especially in education. Garza, who is on leave from his job as a bilingual teacher, has thrown himself into the fights taking place to defend education—from day care to the uni-



Catarino Garza, socialist candidate for Congress from Eighteenth Congressional District in New York.

versities.

On February 26, he joined 700 Puerto Ricans in a demonstration in front of city hall against the cutbacks. "*Cortes en Los Day Care Centers Nos Quitar Educación*" (Cuts in day care centers rob us of education), "*Hispano Defiende tu Vida y Futuro*" (Spanish-speaking people, defend your life and future), read the signs.

Prominent in the march were students from the bilingual Hostos Community College in the Bronx, carrying large signs saying, "Save Hostos Community College" and "Stop the Cuts." Hostos is one of several campuses in the city university system threatened with closing.

Garza addressed the rally in Spanish, telling the crowd: "The bankers and businessmen are the ones who really run this city. And they have decided that we don't deserve to live like decent people."

"The rich think they can beat us back because we don't know how to defend ourselves. They think that the Puerto Rican politicians of the Democratic party have fooled us."

"The Democratic party has the majority in Congress, the governor, the mayor of New York; and we, the Latinos, are still living in wretched conditions. Why? Because no one can make a party that belongs to the rich respond to the needs of the poor. That's why the Socialist Workers party calls for breaking with the Democratic

party.

"We must organize the Latinos and other working people of this city. We must show, through pickets, marches, demonstrations, that we are not going to let the future of our youth be sacrificed to the profits of a handful of rich bankers."

From the march at city hall, Garza went to Hostos Community College, where he joined 500 students in a protest against the planned shutdown of the college.

Hostos is one of the few bilingual colleges in the United States. It is predominantly Puerto Rican, and the majority of those who attend the college are working people who attend part-time.

At the protest meeting, the students decided to march on city hall on March 11 and to join with other students from the city university system who plan to converge on Albany, the state capital, on March 16 to protest the cuts.

School District One

District One, on the Lower East Side, has a history of struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools. The struggle has erupted anew in response to the cutbacks.

The board of education has announced plans to close seven Lower East Side elementary schools, displacing 3,718 students. This, of course, means the overcrowding of already crowded schools, layoffs of teachers, and fewer materials and facilities.

Parents and students from Public School 122 and P.S. 61—both scheduled to be closed—have gathered in large numbers to protest their schools' closing.

Meanwhile, the majority of the local school board of District One is trying to dismiss the principal of Junior High School 60. This principal, Raúl González, is one of the few Puerto Rican principals left in the district.

The community board majority was elected with the backing of United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, a sworn enemy of the fight for community control of the schools in District One.

The board called a meeting for February 26 where the dismissal was on the agenda. Three hundred parents mobilized for the meeting, forcing the board to table the motion to fire González.

The next day, about seventy-five students and some parents from J.H.S. 60 marched from the school to the office of Superintendent Lurie to demand that González not be fired.

Catarino Garza and several of his campaign supporters marched with the students.

Teachers for Garza

Garza's activity in the fight to save the schools also includes an effort to win members of the UFT, of which he is a member, to understand the importance of joining with the Puerto Rican and Black communities in a united struggle against the cuts.

A group of Teachers for Garza within the UFT sponsored a public forum for the candidate at his campaign headquarters on the Lower East Side on the evening of February 26.

Garza told the audience: "Education is in peril and so is the organization of teachers in this city and state."

"It's too late for teachers to think that if they do a good job in their classroom they are contributing their bit toward making society better," continued Garza. "That type of mentality shirks the real job that must be done."

"Teachers must take hold of their union and run it themselves, and to do that they must have a program that answers the real needs of teachers, parents, and students. That program must include breaking the tie between the union and the politicians who have fronted for the bankers—the politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties."

"The UFT must reject the concept that we're a business union and that education is not our concern. Education is and should be our major concern, and to affect education we must work with parents and students."

"We can begin by joining in the struggles for school desegregation in Boston, at Erasmus High in Brooklyn, and at Andrew Jackson High in Queens. It means fighting alongside the parents here in District One for bilingual, bicultural education."

"It means joining the fight of Black and Latino educators who are trying to change the seniority system to one that defends and protects the jobs of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women."

"The teachers union must become an instrument for social change or it will atrophy and die."

Also speaking at the meeting was Ralph Booser, a Black student from Grady High School in Brooklyn. Booser explained why, as a student, he was interested in getting teachers to support Garza for Congress. "It's my education that's at stake," he said, "and these teachers simply have to change the way they are. They have to start thinking!"



Militant/Lou Howort

John Jay High School students march against cutbacks. Catarino Garza has made participation in protests like this a major part of his campaign.

'Use war \$ for education'

[The following are excerpts from a statement made by Catarino Garza to members of the New York Central Board of Education on February 10, concerning the education budget.]

I want to examine the assumption that everyone seems to take for granted—that there is no money for education. We have heard from the elected officials of the city and the state, from both the Democratic and Republican parties, that *there is no money*.

But the federal government collects \$22 billion in taxes annually from New York City. Half of that goes for new military adventures and to pay for past wars. The 1976-77 military budget totals \$108 billion. The budget for education before you totals \$2.7 billion. What a contrast! Responsible people, en-

trusted with education, must not let programs for death take priority over programs for children.

A tiny percentage of the billions spent on the CIA's spying and assassination programs would restore the 100 classes for the mentally retarded that have been cut.

Mayor Beame and Governor Carey should be screaming about the warped priorities of our national government. Instead, they are more concerned with appeasing the bankers and in turning over the decision about how our money should be spent to the bankers and rich investors.

The mayor and the governor have made it clear that for them and for their parties, profits come before human needs. I suggest that the working people of this city need a party of their own which puts people and their needs before banks and their profits.

Queens SWP branch launches election drive

By Terie Balus

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers party moved into the Jamaica section of Queens in January. On February 28, a rally of fifty launched a socialist campaign with the announcement of Keith Jones's candidacy in the Seventh Congressional District on the SWP ticket.

"I'm making support for school desegregation a central focus of my campaign," Jones told the rally. "Equal rights in education is a crucial issue here in Queens just as it is in Boston and in cities across the country."

Jones, a painter by trade, has helped to organize marches and teach-ins supporting the Boston desegregation struggle. Now he has also joined the fight to desegregate Andrew Jackson High School, a 96 percent Black school in Queens.

The Black socialist scored his Democratic opponent, incumbent Joseph Addabbo, for not speaking up for the constitutional rights of Blacks in the face of the racist antibusing campaign spearheaded by Rosedale ROAR.

Jones urged his campaign supporters to help publicize an April 4 prodesegregation rally at Andrew Jackson High School. Jones serves on the rally's steering committee, which was set up by the Andrew Jackson Parents Association.

Also speaking at the campaign rally was Catarino Garza, the SWP's candidate in Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District and a participant in the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican,

and Chinese community control of education in school District One.

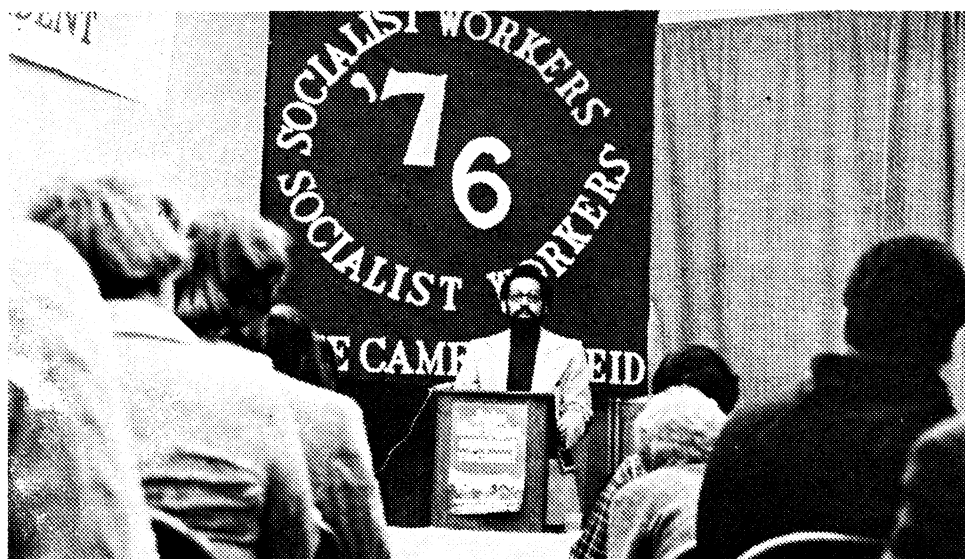
Garza pointed out that Jones's campaign is particularly important for oppressed minority communities, which have had to fight for civil rights and against police terror in Queens.

"Before tonight," Garza said, "on election day, the people of Queens had only two choices—to come out and vote for a crook or stay home. Now they have a real alternative in Keith Jones."

Joining Garza and Jones on the platform was Marcia Gallo, New York Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate. She characterized New York City's economic crisis as a "war against the standard of living of working people. . . . The dollars to provide jobs, education, and services are there," Gallo emphasized. "They're in the military budget and in the superprofits of the banks and corporations."

Along with building united demonstrations of labor, women, students, and the oppressed communities, Gallo said, "We must begin discussing running candidates for office to represent us. What working people need is an electoral party that puts workers first—a labor party."

Winding up the rally was Preston Brown, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union. He urged people to get active in the Keith Jones campaign and join the Socialist Workers party as he'd done, just a few weeks ago.



SWP congressional candidate Keith Jones tells Queens rally, 'School desegregation is a central focus of my campaign.'

New guide to Marxist education is published

By George Kaplan

The National Education Department of the Socialist Workers party has just published the *Guide to Marxist Education-II*. This forty-eight-page booklet brings together fourteen study outlines on topics of interest to people trying to learn more about socialism. It is a supplement to the *Guide to Marxist Education*, an Education for Socialists bulletin published in 1973.

National Education Department staff member Fred Feldman told the *Militant* that the outlines have proven to be very useful for socialist education. "We have gotten favorable comments on them from socialist study groups in many parts of the country and also from individuals studying a subject or book on their own," he said.

Feldman continued, "The guides help in the study of a particular subject by suggesting class outlines, readings, and key questions for people to think about."

The new collection includes a guide to the study of "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Social-

ist Revolution," the Socialist Workers party's 1975 political resolution. Copies of the resolution can be obtained from the *Militant* business office.

Many *Militant* readers will find the ten-part outline on the "Basic Program of Socialism" to be especially interesting. This outline was prepared by the Young Socialist Alliance as an aid to beginning the study of the basic ideas of Marxism.

Other subjects outlined in the *Guide to Marxist Education-II* include: the socialist program for women's liberation; the struggle against racism; the history of the Socialist Workers party; the Transitional Program; and important books such as Farrell Dobbs's *Teamster Politics*, Leon Trotsky's *The Third International After Lenin*, and V.I. Lenin's "Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder.

The *Guide to Marxist Education-II* costs one dollar and can be ordered from the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Celebrate opening of Pasadena SWP offices

By Joanne Tortorici

PASADENA, Calif.—Omari Musa, the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, was in Pasadena the week of February 23 to help socialists here celebrate the opening of their new campaign headquarters and Pathfinder Bookstore.

Greeting the gathering of sixty-five at the open house, he said, "We're not just sayers, we're doers, and we intend to fight to make sure the right of Black, Chicano, and Asian-American children to a good education is upheld here in Pasadena."

He urged the group to help organize rallies and picket lines as a demonstration of public support for the Pasadena school desegregation plan.

The plan, which has been challenged by the local school board, is slated to come before the U.S. Supreme Court on April 14.

The racist local school board recently sent a letter to President Ford, asking him to intervene in their behalf and help defeat the plan, which has helped to desegregate Pasadena's high schools.

Musa kept up a brisk pace for the remainder of his Pasadena tour.

In addition to speaking before the sociology and Black studies classes at Pasadena City College, he addressed an outdoor rally there, where he was heard by about 150 people during the course of his speech.

"Do you really think socialism is possible?" a student in the crowd asked.

"Yes," Musa said.

"Two hundred years ago Sam Adams and Thomas Paine said, 'We need a republic,' and there was no other republic anywhere else in the world. Thirteen raggedy colonies beat the biggest military power of the day. If you think socialism can't make it in the United States today, I refer you to

U.S. history."

That evening seven people, six of them Black, who had become interested in the socialist campaign during Musa's tour relaxed and talked with the candidate over dinner at the home of a campaign supporter.

Two of them, women members of the Nation of Islam, were especially interested in discussing what kinds of community activity the Nation could participate in.

Earlier in his tour of the Los Angeles city area, Musa visited the Los Angeles mosque of the Nation of Islam to discuss topics of particular concern to the Black community with some of its members.

One of the several media interviews the candidate had was on the "Michael Jackson Show," a KABC radio program.

The noontime show has a listening audience of 300,000 to 400,000, making it one of the largest in the country.



Militant/Harold Vogel
OMARI MUSA: 'We intend to fight for the right of Black, Chicano, and Asian-American children to a good education in Pasadena.'

S. California socialists face Nazi harassment

By Joanne Tortorici

PASADENA, Calif.—Socialist campaign supporters met with an unpleasant surprise here the morning of February 27 when they discovered eight air-gun pellet holes in the window of their recently opened campaign headquarters.

A week later, a similar shot was fired into the window of the new Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters in East Los Angeles.

The shooting at the Pasadena offices occurred the night after a celebration marking its public opening.

The night of the opening, campaign workers noticed three men taking down the license numbers of cars parked there for the program.



Militant/Betsy McDonald
Circles show where air-gun pellets were fired into Pasadena SWP headquarters.

When it was demanded to know what they were doing, the men immediately got into a car and fled.

Following the shooting the license number of their car was turned over to the Pasadena police.

The police said they questioned the car's owner and learned that he was a member of the American Nazi party, as were others who were with him the night they were taking down license numbers. The police said the Nazis denied firing the air-gun shots.

The American Nazi party, also known as the National Socialist White People's party, has made Pasadena a focal point of its activity, exploiting and building on the racist opposition to the Pasadena school desegregation plan. They have held several brown-shirt counterdemonstrations when the Black community and its supporters have mobilized in support of the plan.

Recently the American Nazi party announced that it intends to run candidates in the local school board election. The outfit is a rival to the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front, which took public credit for the potentially lethal bomb attack last year on the Socialist Workers party headquarters in Los Angeles.

Nazi thugs recently demonstrated at an SWP headquarters opening in New Orleans. Earlier, they appeared outside the SWP hall in St. Louis.

Pasadena socialists called upon authorities here to enforce the city's laws and to take the necessary steps to apprehend those responsible for the attack on the socialist campaign headquarters.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

MARCH 19, 1976

Has the leopard changed its spots?

European Stalinism and the French CP congress

By David Frankel

Is something new happening in the West European Communist parties?

This is the impression of many, especially after the Twenty-Second Congress of the French CP, held in a Paris suburb early in February. Declaring a policy of "Communism under the French colors," the congress voted to recommend dropping any mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat from the party program.

Reacting to this news, the editors of the *New York Times* said February 9, "However one appraises the sincerity

of the changed image the French Communists seek to project, the historic nature of the shift in line is undeniable."

A new course?

It is certainly true that the aim of the congress was to give the impression of a new course. French CP chief Georges Marchais told the delegates that there were "noticeable divergences" between the French and Soviet parties and that "we do not intend to give lessons to anyone, nor will we accept any from anyone."



French CP's Marchais (left) with Italian SP's top leader, Enrico Berlinguer. Are they breaking ties with Moscow and moving toward West European social democracy?



Opening session of twenty-second French CP congress. Banner at left reads: 'A democratic road to socialism. A socialism for France.'

Moreover, in the name of "the Communist ideal," and "the happiness of man," Marchais criticized the Kremlin's brutal suppression of political dissent. "It is natural," he said, "that we express our disagreement with repressive measures that infringe on freedom of opinion, expression or creativity wherever they occur."

But for nearly five decades the only "natural" response of the French CP has been to follow unflinchingly the twists of the Kremlin's line. Is it realistic to think that a party of 500,000 could repudiate its distinguishing political character almost overnight, and without any major internal division?

Not just in France

Another consideration that should be kept in mind in evaluating the French CP congress is that the general approach outlined there is being followed by the West European Communist parties as a whole. The British CP, for example, published an article in the January issue of its theoretical magazine criticizing the treatment of dissidents inside the Soviet Union, the "remnants of anti-semitism" apparent in the country, and the general lack of democratic rights.

The article, written by John Gollan, who recently retired after nineteen years as the leader of the British CP, was published as a pamphlet in February. Noting that the real decisions in the USSR are made by the top party leadership "with little or no public explanation," Gollan concluded that "it is difficult to visualise that the present system can continue indefinitely."

The leaders of the Italian and Spanish Communist parties have been attempting for years to demonstrate some independence from Moscow in order to gain acceptance from the capitalist allies they seek. "We are not adventurers who will systematically wave the flag of social unrest," Santiago Carrillo, head of the Spanish CP, insists.

The Italian CP has gone so far in pursuit of its "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats that the conservative British financial weekly *Economist* ran an article in its December 6 issue urging non-Communist parties in Europe to "ponder whether the Italian Communists may not have taken on a role normally associated in northern Europe with the Social Democrats, and if so whether it would not be wise cautiously to increase contacts with them."

Basic question

Of course, this attitude stems in large part from the awareness that, as the *Economist* article said, "In the long run it looks as though all Italy's partners will have to reckon with the PCI, whether they like it or not."

Nevertheless, the question raised by the *Economist* is the basic one that must be answered in analyzing the meaning of the line being followed by the West European Communist parties. Is the link between these parties and Moscow dissolving? Are they developing into simply Social Democratic parties like the ones in power in Britain, West Germany, Sweden, and other West European countries?

Certainly the Stalinist parties, like the Social Democrats, make no secret of their desire to help administer the capitalist system. Stalinist reformism, however, arose differently than Social Democratic reformism and it responds to different pressures.

Stalinism is the result of the degeneration of the Soviet party and state during the 1920s. The bureaucratic caste that developed in the USSR wanted only to defend its own privileges within the borders of the Soviet Union. This turn away from the perspective of world revolution was elevated to the status of a theory in December 1924 when Stalin first proclaimed the possibility of "socialism in one country."

This theory was in complete contradiction to Marxism. Marx and Engels

Continued on next page

...European Stalinism



Stalin with Nazi leader Ribbentrop. European CPs uttered scarcely a whimper when Kremlin signed nonaggression pact with Hitler in 1939



... and flipped back without hesitation when Hitler attacked Soviet Union in 1941. Stalin is pictured above with Winston Churchill and Harry S. Truman.

Continued from preceding page

held that one of the basic contradictions of capitalism was the growth of productive forces to the point where they came into conflict with the strait-jacket of national boundaries. The basis for Marxist internationalism is the realization that it is impossible for the workers to solve the fundamental problems of our epoch except on a world scale.

Yet in 1928, at its sixth congress, Stalin's reactionary theory was formally adopted as part of the program of the Communist International. The bureaucracy did not need an international association of *revolutionary* parties, but foreign supporters of its diplomatic maneuvers.

Trotsky, in explaining the deadly logic of the new move, said:

The new doctrine proclaims that socialism can be built on the basis of a national state *if only there is no intervention*. From this there can and must follow... a collaborationist policy towards the foreign bourgeoisie with the object of averting intervention, as this will guarantee the construction of socialism, that is to say, will solve the main historical question. The task of the parties of the Comintern assumes, therefore, an auxiliary character; their mission is to protect the U.S.S.R. from intervention and not to fight for the conquest of power.¹

Popular front

In accordance with Trotsky's prediction, the nationalist perspective of building "socialism" in one country led the Stalinized Communist movement to offer political support to whichever capitalist governments maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the USSR. This orientation was codified in the doctrine of the popular front at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935.

The popular-front strategy was rationalized to the masses as the way to defend democracy against fascism. But the method of defense proposed by Stalin was not the independent mobilization of the working class, but rather its subordination to the capitalist parties claiming to stand for democracy.

This policy of attempting to hold the struggles of the working class within limits acceptable to the liberal capitalists was an attempt to win their friendship. It was an integral part of Stalin's main strategy: the establishment of a military and diplomatic alliance with the imperialist democracies in return for his help in opposing the extension of the socialist revolution.

In pursuit of this counterrevolutionary collaboration with imperialism—no different in essence than the present Brezhnev détente—the Stalinists consciously strangled the Spanish revolution, thus helping to pave the way for the fascist victory in the Spanish Civil War and the outbreak of World War II. In the United States, they began their forty-year-old policy of backing the Democratic party, while in France their collaboration was central to the preservation of capitalism during the tumultuous years of 1934-38.

As Trotsky pointed out after the Comintern's seventh congress, from the point of view of program, "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the



Chinese cavalry patrol Soviet border. Stalinist conception of 'socialism in one country' has had logical outcome in conflicts between rival bureaucracies.

traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn."²

But if there were no fundamental differences—then as now—between the class-collaborationist program of Stalinism and that of Social Democracy, there is a very big difference in another respect. The Social Democrats practice class collaboration in the service of their own national ruling class, whereas the Stalinists practice class collaboration in the attempt to advance the interests of the bureaucracy of a workers state.

Perhaps the best known example of this came in 1939, when Stalin concluded his nonaggression pact with Hitler. The parties of the Comintern changed their line overnight with scarcely a whimper. They stopped warning about the Hitlerite danger and started protesting against the threat of an imperialist war. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, they flipped back without hesitation and began calling for an all-out war against the fascist menace.

It could be argued that the declarations of the French, Italian, Spanish, and other European Communist parties avowing their independence from Moscow, and their criticisms of various Soviet policies, show that these parties are breaking their links to the Kremlin. If this were the case, they would be well on the way to turning into Social Democratic parties.

In his 1928 discussion of the program of the Comintern, Trotsky did raise the possibility of such a development. He asked how it would be possible for the Kremlin to limit the nationalist perspective it was introducing into the Comintern merely to *Russian* nationalism.

If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only *after* but also *before* the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. . . . The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism.³

Trotsky's expectation of how far the process of social democratization in the Comintern would proceed was

2. *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36)* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 11.

3. *Third International After Lenin*, p. 72.

linked to his prognosis that either capitalism would be restored within the Soviet Union, or else the working class would overthrow the bureaucracy in relatively short order. He did not expect the Soviet bureaucracy to outlive World War II.

Bureaucrats maintain grip

The ability of the bureaucratic caste to prolong its grip has also meant the survival of the political movement associated with it. At the same time, the national-reformist logic of Stalinism has continued to manifest itself.

In fact, it was Stalin himself who took the initiative of formally dissolving the Comintern in 1943. This decision, which had been predicted by Trotsky eight years earlier, was intended as a show of good faith toward Stalin's imperialist allies during World War II.

Although inspired by the bureaucracy itself, the orientation toward the liberal capitalists has created a problem for the Kremlin because it continually generates social democratic wings within the Communist parties. Some examples are the split in the American CP led by John Gates in 1958, and the Garaudy split in France.

However, such social democratic tendencies have never been successful in altering the basic character of a Stalinist party. The basis on which Communist parties must recruit and hold their members in the face of Social Democratic competition is precisely their link with the Soviet Union. The rank and file of these parties are recruited and trained as Soviet patriots. The link with Moscow can be camouflaged for tactical reasons, but to break it would require the type of factional struggle that has not yet occurred.

Moreover, from the point of view of the opportunist bureaucrats, any attempt to sever the link with the Kremlin would be a dangerous adventure. The field of Social Democratic politics is already occupied by sizable formations with their own independent apparatuses. A place for the Stalinist bureaucrats would not necessarily be assured.

Monolith cracks

It is true that today there is a degree of differentiation within the Stalinist movement that would have been unthinkable in Stalin's time. But what was responsible for breaking up the old Stalinist monolith was not the social democratization of the Communist

parties but rather the coming to power of Stalinist parties in a number of different countries.

In each of these countries, new bureaucratic castes arose, and in each case their privileges were based on the nationalized property within their own borders. Each of these parties is in favor of "socialism" in one country—its own.

The result of this has been conflict between workers states led by rival national bureaucracies. This has even included armed confrontations, as when Stalin threatened to invade Yugoslavia after his break with Tito, and in the case of the conflicts on the Soviet-Chinese border. The Maoist regime in China has even built a rival international Stalinist movement, although on a smaller scale than that of Moscow's, reflecting the lesser resources of the Peking bureaucrats.

The essence of Stalinist politics is the defense of the interests of a privileged bureaucratic caste. If we use this yardstick, then changes in style and tone in the West European Communist parties pose no special problems. In fact, such changes are wholly compatible with their attempts to be the most effective border guards for the Moscow bureaucrats.

One of the basic problems faced by the Stalinists for decades has been the revulsion caused by their unflinching support for the crimes of the Kremlin. For the West European parties in particular, this has been a big stumbling block in the way of winning votes and attracting allies in the electoral arena.

In many ways, Stalin's heirs inside the Soviet Union faced a similar problem of how to establish their credibility. They responded to this problem in 1956, when Khrushchev gave his famous secret speech denouncing some of Stalin's crimes. Needless to say, this did not change the nature of the bureaucratic caste in the USSR.

The Stalinist parties were not slow to follow in Khrushchev's footsteps. Palmiro Togliatti, the chief of the Italian CP, coined the term "polycentrism" in this period. Once again, this decision to dissociate themselves from particular crimes of the bureaucratic caste did not change the basic position of the Stalinist parties as defenders of the caste. All of them, for example, backed the suppression of the Hungarian revolution a few months later.

During the 1930s and 1940s, it was possible for the mass Stalinist parties in Europe simply to deny reports of many of the crimes attributed to the

Kremlin. Today, such a stand is no longer possible, even within their own ranks. If Moscow is unhappy about having its actions in Czechoslovakia or its suppression of dissenters attacked, it is willing to live with this because of the mass influence of Communist parties like the French and Italian.

Détente

Détente is the fundamental policy being pursued by Moscow, and it is from the standpoint of détente that the West European Stalinists have worked out their approach. Sergio Segre, one of the main leaders of the Italian CP, spelled this out in an interview with Daniel Yergin, a fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation. Yergin, whose account appeared in the November 1, 1975, issue of the *New Republic*—one of the leading journals of American liberalism—asked:

But what can you say about an Italian Communist party that has carried joining so far that it no longer officially objects to Italian membership in NATO, which, as you will remember, is an anti-Communist alliance headquartered in Brussels? I had to smile when I asked Segre about that.

This is not just a passport to get into the government, Segre said firmly. We realize that Italy is part of the Western sphere, and we have no great interest in detaching it from the Western sphere and putting it into the Eastern sphere—though of course Italy should be allowed an autonomous internal policy. But our view of NATO is based upon a general analysis of détente. There is a strategic equilibrium in Europe. Underlying the process of détente is a gentlemen's agreement not to break that stability.

Yergin was favorably impressed. He concluded, "The PCI is a part of Italian national life and enjoys a broad support the United States needs."

Although Yergin's advice to the imperialist rulers in Washington was doubtlessly well meant, in the past they have shown themselves quite capable of utilizing the support offered by the Stalinists when they feel it necessary. Henry Kissinger, it should be remembered, turned to Moscow and Peking when all else failed in Vietnam. But in this case, Washington has taken a hard line against any governmental role for the West European Stalinists.

Washington's hard line

Kissinger has repeatedly urged European Social Democrats not to cooperate with the Stalinists. "They haven't heard talk like this since the days of

John Foster Dulles," one U.S. official said, according to a report by Craig R. Whitney in the February 5 *New York Times*.

Nor has Washington restricted its intervention to talk, as is shown by the millions of dollars it has pumped into Italy and Portugal to back the opponents of the Stalinist parties there. According to Whitney, Kenneth Rush, the U.S. ambassador to France, went so far as to say that Washington would "not tolerate" participation by the Stalinists in the French government, although what the Ford administration would do was not spelled out.

Of course Kissinger knows that the Stalinists are not interested in overturning European capitalism and would in fact actively oppose any socialist revolution, as they have in the past. Like the Stalinists, he approaches the problem within the framework of détente—but from the opposite side. This was explained by Henry Brandon in the February 8 *London Sunday Times*.

Brandon noted that the Stalinists have tried to avoid the issue of military policy. "Yet this is an issue high on the American list, because détente depends on maintaining military equilibrium; it cannot replace it. It is assumed the communists would join in setting budget priorities, which may damage American interests in preserving [the] over-all balance of power."

In its lead article, the January 17 issue of the *Economist* elaborated on this point. It argued:

... a success for the Communists in Italy and France would affect the defence of western Europe. Even if these parties agreed to keep their countries in the Atlantic alliance, it is inconceivable that they would not try to cut their defence budgets and limit their cooperation with the United States. That would probably encourage the defence-cutters in other European Nato countries ("Why should our defence budget be bigger than theirs"). It would also encourage the faction in the American Congress which says there is no point in sending so many American troops to defend a western Europe unwilling to defend itself.

The attempt of the West European Stalinists to play a bigger role in the détente by refurbishing their electoral image also explains why the French CP chose the present time to dissociate itself from the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have already seen that in terms of Stalinist policy this formal renunciation is forty years overdue.

Hitler . . . or Stalin?

Marchais, in justifying the move, argued that the dictatorship of the proletariat evokes "the fascist regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Salazar and Franco."

This is a cynical evasion. In the minds of most workers the dictatorship of the proletariat evokes the brutal police dictatorships of Stalin, Mao, and their imitators. This is one of the great crimes of Stalinism: It has done more than all the capitalist propaganda in the world to falsely identify socialism with the loss of democratic rights.

Unable to lie effectively anymore about the crimes of the Kremlin, Marchais is trying to claim that he, at least, is a real democrat. It is noteworthy that the method he uses is to slander the Marxist concept of the proletarian dictatorship rather than to say that the Soviet regime is in fact a dictatorship of the parasitic bureaucracy. In doing this, Marchais is helping the bureaucracy to cloak its crimes in the robes of Marx and Lenin,



Brezhnev's regime is dictatorship of a parasitic bureaucracy.

while at the same time disclaiming any responsibility for those crimes.

The fact is that Stalinism is the negation of Marxism and Leninism. The bureaucracy finds it necessary to use the prestige of the Russian revolution in defending its rule, but it has rejected everything that revolution stood for.

Marx and Engels viewed all of class society as the dictatorship of one class over others, regardless of the governmental form at any particular time. What is involved in the dictatorship of the proletariat is the question of what class has real power, not how it exercises that power. The freest capitalist democracy is still a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie from a social point of view.

This theoretical concept takes on immediate political significance in relation to the state. Marxists see the state as an organ of class rule. It is a bureaucratic-military machine controlled by the ruling class, and in times of crisis the state uses its monopoly of armed might to defend the interests of the ruling class, regardless of the wishes of the majority of society.

From this view of the capitalist state follows both the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and also the necessity for the establishment of a workers state to defend the revolution against foreign intervention and any uprisings by the old ruling class. Such a workers state—a dictatorship of the proletariat—would represent the interests of the vast majority of society. It would be more democratic than any capitalist regime could possibly be precisely for that reason.

Marx saw the dictatorship of the proletariat as a temporary stage on the road to a classless society. That road leads through the antibureaucratic revolution in the Stalinized workers states as well as through the social revolution in the capitalist countries.

As for the French CP, in rejecting the dictatorship of the proletariat it is only restating its rejection of the whole perspective of the working class ever coming to power.

In a way, this is an advance; it helps clear away any illusions and misunderstandings about what Stalinism stands for.



U.S. tanks in Germany. Kissinger fears that NATO could be weakened by entry of Stalinist parties into Western European governments.

Independent organization the key

Perspectives for the peasant movement in Peru

By Hugo Blanco

[The following article appeared in the January 10 issue of *Palabra Socialista*, a revolutionary-socialist newspaper published in Peru. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The peasant struggles at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s brought about major changes in the Convención and Lares valleys, and had a powerful impact in the rest of the department of Cuzco.

In La Convención and Lares the system of haciendas was virtually abolished and replaced by small- and medium-sized landholdings. The repressive forces that caused a retreat on other gains did not dare touch the fundamental one.

In the rest of the department it was different. Repression by the bourgeois governments caused a backsliding, notably on such gains of the peasants as the recovery of communal lands and the marked reduction of power of the big landowners.

The current regime's agrarian reform, designed to promote capitalist development of the nation and to diminish tensions in the countryside, in great measure achieved its objectives. For all practical purposes, the big haciendas in the department were liquidated. This is a major capitalist advance that we must take note of if we want to act logically in the countryside.

But watch out! This does not mean that the local bosses have stopped being powerful men nor that the peasantry has stopped being the poorest and most exploited sector. It means only that the big landowners exploit the people in another way—as owners of factories, big merchants, or functionaries—and that the peasants experience exploitation by the capitalists and their state. The cooperatives, SAIS,¹ and now the Social Property enterprises are nothing but poorly disguised forms for exploiting the peasantry. The commercial cooperatives of La Convención and Lares stopped being such vehicles thanks to the consciousness and experience of the peasantry of that zone.

Peasant organizations

The repression and the subsequent reformist course followed by the government were the main causes of the weakening of the Peasant Federations of La Convención and Lares and of the department of Cuzco.

The bourgeois government—with the help of old fighters like Vladimiro Valer, Justo Huallpa, Saturnino Willca, among others, and a lot of demagoguery—presented Sinamos,² the agrarian leagues, and FARTAC³ as conquests of the big peasant struggles against the local bosses and the government.

1. Sociedades Agrícolas de Interés Social (Cooperative Agricultural Societies).

2. Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social (National Network for Supporting Social Mobilization).

3. Federación Agraria Revolucionaria "Tupac Amaru II" del Cuzco (Tupac Amaru II Revolutionary Agrarian Federation of Cuzco).

So, for objective and subjective reasons these bodies financed by the bourgeois government were strengthened.

The weakening of the traditionally antigovernment Departmental Federation of Cuzco and Provincial Federation of La Convención eased their conversion into new battlegrounds for the ultraleft university sects, which, out of ignorance and lack of interest in the daily problems of the peasantry, favored still more the weakening of the class-struggle federations. That is, the dominance of these sects in the leadership of the two federations is both cause and effect of the decline of the federations.

In La Convención and Lares, when the issue was a struggle for land, it generally took place through the unions and the federation. Now the main struggle is over the marketing of what

who are directly or indirectly guilty of these wrongdoings.

That is why the peasantry is once again beginning to seek its own channels of struggle, and why the moment for breathing new life into the independent organizations of the peasantry—against the state bodies and over the heads of the ultraleft sects—is approaching.

In November an expanded National Executive Committee meeting of the Confederación de Campesinos del Perú⁵ was held in the department of Cuzco.

This meeting served to confirm and give a focus to the radicalization of the peasantry both in the mountain zone, as shown by the meeting in Chancán, Anta, and in the valleys on the edge of the jungle, as shown by the reorganization of the federation of Lares Valley. This federation was relaunched with

who attacked it harshly thirteen years ago, when he was also a student.

We consider the CCP to be a peasant organization independent of the bourgeois state. We believe it is the only organization of such a character that encompasses broad sectors of the masses.

These two considerations are sufficient for us to support and defend the CCP and fight to make it stronger.

Patria Roja and other sectors make serious accusations of bureaucratism against the leadership of the CCP. Even if all these accusations are correct, we will fight with all our might to end such methods and to correct whatever political deviation that might exist. But we will do all this while defending the CCP, and from inside it.

Let us recall our policy toward the CGTP⁷—defense of the organization and a fight to strengthen it. We carry this out precisely by fighting against the bureaucratic, sellout leadership from inside the organization.

This is the policy that Marx and Lenin followed, and it has nothing to do with the divisive, ill-fated sectarianism of the self-styled "Marxist-Leninist" ultraleft.

Moreover, there is an essential difference between the leaderships of the CGTP and the CCP. The leadership of the CGTP, which is in the hands of the CP-"Unidad," supports the bourgeois government and practices class collaborationism. The CCP leadership, with its VR⁸ majority, points to the government as one of the main enemies of the peasantry and in general has a class-struggle policy.

Our initial attitude toward the comrades of the VR, PCR, and MIR⁹ who have done peasant work is to congratulate them for their work. Starting from such a position we will begin a discussion on the analyses made, the line to follow, and the functioning of our peasant organizations.

For now, let us only point out our fundamental point of difference. For us the revolution it is our job to make is the socialist revolution. This is even more true given the reforms made by this bourgeois government—including the agrarian reform. Our task is an anticapitalist and thus a socialist one. On this matter we disagree with all branches of Stalinism—from the CP-"Unidad" to "Bandera Roja," the VR, and the PCR.

Organizationally the main difference is that we believe the CCP should fight inside the CGTP against the sellout leadership of this federation.

We believe that more unites us with the members of the CCP than separates us. We think that in general our differences will be overcome through common work.

It is with this spirit that we go to work in the CCP and for this reason that I have agreed to become a member of the National Executive Committee of our peasant federation.

December 7, 1975



Hugo Blanco surrounded by peasants in Peru's La Convención valley last fall after his return from four years of government-imposed exile.

they produce, and as a result it takes place through the commercial cooperatives in COCLA.⁴

And now?

What has happened is that the conflicts between the Cuzco peasantry and the capitalists and their state have grown more intense. The peasantry complains that the cooperatives and the SAIS took away their land. They complain that those bodies are exploiting them. They complain about the low prices paid for their products and the obstacles placed in the way of marketing them. They complain about the exorbitant rise in the cost of living.

Of course Sinamos, the leagues, and FARTAC are useless for fighting against such things. They are useful only for organizing mass gatherings in homage to the functionaries and rulers

seventeen units ratifying their affiliation to the CCP. The radicalization is also shown by the massive assemblies in Huadquina and Chaupimayo, two units that fought against the local boss Romainville.

Unfortunately a sour note was sounded in the Provincial Federation of La Convención and Lares, where Patria Roja⁶ and other ultraleft sects convinced the provincial federation to disaffiliate from the CCP.

It must be noted that the person who headed this action was the special representative of the Peruvian Student Federation, Tani Valer. We do not know if the Peruvian students really gave Valer the mission of splitting our peasant federation. But we do know that this individual who cannot say enough about the "glorious struggles of the federation," was one of those

5. CCP (Peruvian Peasant Federation).

6. Red Homeland, the main Maoist group in Peru.

7. Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú (General Confederation of Peruvian Workers).

8. Vanguardia Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Vanguard).

9. Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Revolutionary Communist party, a split from VR); Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

Shot white man in self-defense

Yvonne Wanrow: Indian woman seeks freedom

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Two hundred people crowded into the basement of El Centro, Seattle's Chicano community center, on February 17, and listened quietly as Yvonne Wanrow told her story.

Wanrow is a thirty-two-year-old Colville Indian woman. She has spent the last three and a half years fighting for her freedom, victimized by the state of Washington for being an Indian woman who defended herself and her children against a drunken white attacker.

She was tried and convicted of murder by an all-white Spokane, Washington, jury in mid-1973. "My trial began May 7, about the time the Wounded Knee occupation was ending," Wanrow says. "There was a hysterical outcry against Indians, especially Indians with guns. . . . Any Indian going to trial at that time would have been convicted."

It all began on August 11, 1972, while Wanrow's children were staying with a baby-sitter, Shirley Hooper. One of Wanrow's children and one of Hooper's were taken away by William Wesler, a sixty-two-year-old white neighbor, who threatened the children with a knife. The children managed to escape and Hooper called the police.

While the police were taking their report, Hooper's seven-year-old daughter, Mildred, told her mother that Wesler was the same man who

had raped her several months earlier and had given her a venereal disease. Terrified, the child had refused to identify the rapist until she saw the police and learned what had just happened to the other two children.

Despite the statements by the three children, and Wesler's previous record as a sex offender, the police refused to arrest him.



WANROW: Convicted of murder by all-white jury during racist hysteria after Wounded Knee occupation.

Hooper then called Wanrow and convinced her to stay the night at the Hooper home and bring a gun Wanrow had bought as protection against racists in the neighborhood. Around midnight, the women heard more and more noise coming from Wesler's house and they asked Wanrow's sister and brother-in-law to also come over.

Around 5:00 a.m., Wanrow's brother-in-law went to Wesler's house, where he found Wesler and a companion drunk. The in-law became entangled in a scuffle with Wesler's companion, and Wesler, infuriated and drunk, charged over to the Hooper residence.

He barged into the living room where the children were sleeping, lurched toward Wanrow, and tried to grab her. Wanrow picked up the gun and fired.

The police were called, and Wanrow answered their questions on the phone while a car was sent over.

She was not told the conversation was being taped, nor that she had a right to remain silent, nor that what she said might be used against her in court.

Wanrow was arrested and booked on suspicion of murder. After the bail of \$5,000 was raised, she had no money for a lawyer, so a public defender was appointed instead.

Wanrow says, "The public defender who was assigned to me would not fight for me." So, feeling isolated and hopeless, she gave in to her lawyer's urging that she plead guilty. Later, her

family was able to raise money for another lawyer, and the guilty plea was withdrawn.

The trial began on May 7, 1973. The evening the selection of the jury was completed, members of the all-white panel were allowed to go home, where they were able to read a newspaper story about the case, and about the previous guilty plea. Because of this, the following day the defense asked that the jury be excused, but the judge refused.

The tape recording made without Wanrow's knowledge was played as "evidence," and the prosecution emphasized what it considered the calm tone of Wanrow's voice, saying this proved she was a cold-blooded murderer.

On the other hand, evidence about Wesler's record as a sex offender and testimony of the doctor who treated one of the children after Wesler's attack were not permitted.

Wanrow was found guilty May 13.

In August 1973 Wanrow was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment, but was allowed to remain free pending appeal.

Two years later, the state court of appeals threw out the verdict and ordered a new trial. But the prosecution appealed this decision to the state supreme court, and arguments were heard before this court February 23, 1976. A decision is not expected for several months.

Protest cop terror against Menominee Indians

By Jan Tuccinardi

MADISON, Wis.—Sit-ins of 150 to 400 people were held at the state capitol here during the last week of February to protest police terror against Indians in Menominee County.

That county, some 130 miles north of here, is near the Alexian Brothers Novitiate occupied by the Menominee Warrior Society on New Years Day, 1975. The Indians were demanding that the land and buildings, unused since 1968, revert back to the tribe as specified in the government's treaty with the Menominees, and that the facility house a medical center.

On February 3, the first anniversary of the end of the occupation, John Waubanasum and Arlin Pamanet were killed by Menominee County Sheriff Kenneth Fish during a raid on Waubanasum's home by the sheriff and two deputies.

Waubanasum was one of those charged for the occupation of the Catholic novitiate, and was to have gone to trial with four codefendants on April 1.

Pamanet was active with the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Com-

mittee, which has been helping to organize the defense for those charged in connection with the occupation.

Sheriff Fish has a documented record of harassment against Indians. Last October nineteen affidavits were collected charging Fish with repeated drunken harassment of Indians. Indians were frequently rounded up on Friday night on trumped-up charges and released the following Monday for lack of evidence.

Sheriff Fish claims he shot the two men with a 12-gauge shotgun in "self-defense." However, a report issued more than two weeks after the killings by the district attorney for the area raises many questions about Fish's story:

- Waubanasum was shot in the back;
- Pamanet was shot twice, not once as Fish contended;
- The alleged gun possessed by Pamanet has never been found;
- Spent cartridges for the gun allegedly possessed by Waubanasum have never been found;
- One of his own deputies has

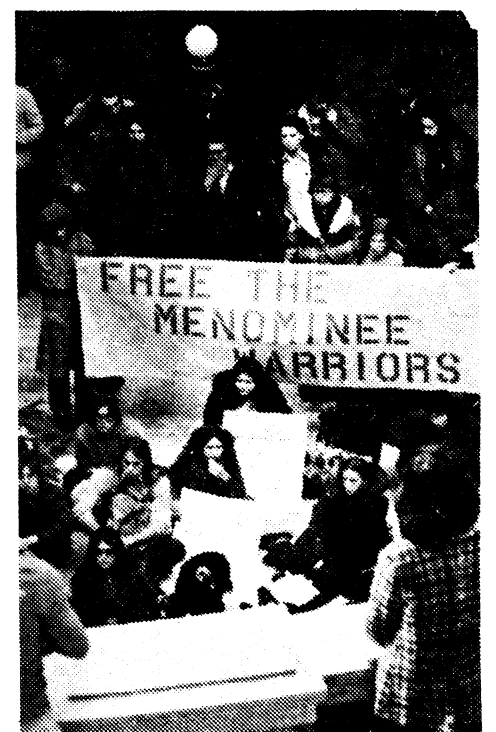
questioned Fish's claim that he yelled, "Drop the gun, John!" four times at Waubanasum before opening up with the shotgun;

• Pamanet was taken into the Waubanasum home and kept there for two hours while he bled to death.

Despite these contradictions in Fish's story, Gov. Patrick Lucey, who appointed Fish sheriff, announced that he is satisfied with the results of the investigation and would take no action unless "substantial" proof of misconduct were brought to his attention. A news release by the Menominee Legal Defense/Offense Committee charges that "many of the witnesses have been frightened into silence."

The protesters at the capitol have urged that an independent inquiry into the shooting take place; that Fish be suspended until such an investigation is carried out; and that Fish be indicted now for negligent homicide for having allowed Pamanet to bleed to death.

The demonstrators have also demanded that the charges against surviving defendants in the novitiate cases be dropped.



Militant/Richard Abrams
Sit-in at Wisconsin state capitol demands suspension of cop who killed leader of 1975 occupation of Alexian Brothers Novitiate.

AIM's Dennis Banks tells forum about frame-up

By Michael Schreiber

SAN FRANCISCO—Some 225 people filled the Militant Labor Forum here February 20 to hear American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks. Banks faces up to fifteen years in prison for having been convicted on trumped-up riot charges in South Dakota.

Speaking with Banks were Lehman Brightman, a Native American studies professor; Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of AIM; and Gina March, coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Banks and Brightman were both arrested January 24 by FBI agents who surrounded Brightman's home in El Cerrito, a suburb of San Francisco.

Banks was being sought as a fugitive from "justice." In February 1973

he had participated in a demonstration in Custer, South Dakota, protesting the killing of an Indian by a white man. The protest was savagely attacked by police, and Banks and other Indians were indicted.

Last summer, Banks was tried and convicted by an all-white jury, and subsequently failed to appear for sentencing. He is now free on bail pending hearings on his extradition to South Dakota.

In addition, Banks faces removal to Oregon to face federal charges of possession of firearms and explosives stemming from an alleged incident last October.

Brightman, who heads the Native American studies program at Contra Costa Community College, has been

charged with "harboring a fugitive."

Banks told the Militant Labor Forum that he has been heartened by recent protest activities in his defense. Banks said he looks to actions such as the February 6 rally of 500 people at the state capitol in Sacramento as an important part of the struggle for justice for all Indians.

"When I saw people marching on the capitol, Indians and non-Indians," Banks said, "I realized that maybe this time around we won't stand alone. Indians and non-Indians might join in a common hope for freedom."

The Sacramento protesters were demanding that Gov. Edmund Brown refuse to extradite Banks to South Dakota on the basis that Banks cannot

receive fair treatment there.

Both Banks and Bellecourt told the forum audience about the goals of AIM, which they helped found in 1968.

AIM demands that the hundreds of treaties that have been signed by the U.S. government with Indian peoples be enforced through a commission established by Indian people.

"It makes us wonder," Banks remarked, "that the government should still be making treaties with Spain or another country while it hasn't honored even one with Indian people."

Banks referred to the words of the revered Indian religious leader Black Elk: "There's only one promise they've kept—the promise to take the Indian's land."

Who let the truth slip out?

'Ethics' committee plans 'leaks' inquisition

By Steve Clark

Three hundred fifty thousand dollars.

That is the sum requested by the Ethics Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives to finance an investigation that began March 9.

What is it that the Ethics Committee intends to investigate with this hefty budget? Is it the ethics of CIA plots to assassinate foreign political leaders? Or perhaps the morality of the government's campaign of surveillance and victimization against Black activists, antiwar figures, and socialists?

No. It is neither of these.

Instead, the Ethics Committee wants to find out who has been spilling the beans to the American people about such seamy government operations.

On February 19 the House voted 269 to 115 to mandate that the committee investigate the leak earlier that month of the House Select Committee on Intelligence report on the CIA and FBI. The House had decided in late January to suppress the report until the White House removed those sections it considered vital to the interests of "national security," that is, the parts Ford and Kissinger were most eager to hide from the public.

Many of the committees' major findings had already been disclosed by the *New York Times* and other newspapers, which had obtained portions of the report. But after the House decision to bury the document, television news correspondent Daniel Schorr turned over his copy for publication in the *New York weekly Village Voice*.

That is when the current furor over "leaks" began.

The White House quickly recognized an opportunity to try to deflect atten-



Schorr (right) eyeball to eyeball with CIA Director George Bush. House probe will step up witch-hunt against Schorr, who leaked CIA report to *New York weekly*.

tion away from the report's disclosures of government spying, lies, and subversion of foreign governments.

It latched onto the leaks "problem," proposing legislation making it a felony for a current or former government employee to divulge information about intelligence methods and sources.

The House of Representatives is now following Ford's example.

The Ethics Committee hearings are the upshot of this buckling under White House pressure.

The aim of both the House probe and Ford's proposals is to reassert the government's "right" to keep secrets from the American people. Widespread challenges to this "right" in recent years have endangered another of Washington's sacred prerogatives: the "right" to lie to the American people.

Would we have found out about the massacre at My Lai if not for a leak?

Could we have known how premeditatedly Washington lied about its involvement in Vietnam and in the more recent Angolan civil war if not for leaks?

And wasn't it a leak that first brought to light CIA involvement in assassination plots against Fidel Castro and other foreign leaders?

These are the kinds of disclosures that Ford and Congress are determined to halt.

A witch-hunt atmosphere has been whipped up against correspondent Schorr in an attempt to intimidate anyone who might commit the "crime" of telling the American people the truth.

CBS television has aided this government drive by stripping Schorr of

all reporting duties "until all government proceedings [on the leaks] have been resolved."

The head of the Ethics Committee denies that its investigation will be aimed at crucifying Schorr. Rep. John Flynt (D-Ga.) told reporters March 4 that the probe "will be neither an inquisition nor a witch-hunt" and that "there is no intention to go after one person."

But his statement before the House Rules Committee was more frank.

A Rules Committee member told Flynt that he hoped broader subpoena power for the Ethics Committee investigation "would not be used to bring in a lot of people and ask their sources"—an obvious reference to Schorr.

Flynt responded, "I don't think any one yet knows how broad the investigation will be." He added ominously that his committee's mandate was to "investigate the entire circumstances of the leaks."

Flynt may not call that an inquisition or a witch-hunt, but civil liberties supporters would be hard pressed to find an alternative label.

The Ethics Committee has joined hands with the White House to prevent us from knowing what we have every right to know about Washington's activities at home and abroad.

But the mood of the American people will be a stumbling block to their plans. Each new revelation of government crimes and corruption swells the ranks of those who are tired of being played for fools by Washington.

Congress's hue and cry about leaks will be met by growing support for the demand that all police, CIA, and FBI files be opened for everyone to see.

Nixon's junket to China

Mao welcomes back butcher of Vietnam

By David Frankel

From *Intercontinental Press*

"Even for Richard Nixon, it was an extraordinary and dubious venture. There was the ex-President, thoroughly disgraced in his own country, being treated in Peking as if he still occupied the Oval Office and Watergate meant nothing more than a fancy apartment building."

Time magazine's reaction to Nixon's visit to China was typical of the comment in the American capitalist press. The *Washington Post* characterized Nixon's junket as "perverse," "irresponsible," and "intolerable."

The editors said, "... the visit is a piece of pure diplomatic and political mischief-making, half ego trip and half kowtow. Its only redeeming aspect is the evidence it offers of how wise the American people were to drum this disgraced figure out of the White House 18 months ago."

"A sleazy act" was the verdict of columnist Joseph Kraft.

There was considerable speculation in the mass media as to why the Chinese government should send a private plane to transport the despised criminal across the Pacific. The Maoist regime acted as if Nixon were a famous and respected leader, a man who carries weight within American ruling circles.

Some bourgeois commentators have suggested that the show put on by Mao, featuring Nixon as No. 1 hero in the United States, was a maneuver in China's internal politics. China is one of the few countries in the world where such a deception could be successful. The regime is able to get away with the fraud because it has never reported the details of Watergate to the Chinese

people, using the pretext that the scandal was an "internal affair" of the United States.

Whatever calculations the Maoist bureaucrats may have had on this score, it was certainly ironic that Mao was entertaining Nixon, formerly the head of the world's chief imperialist power, while Teng Hsiao-ping was being attacked as a source of the "right deviationist wind" who was "taking the capitalist road in the interests of the landlord and bourgeois classes." Teng, a member of the Chinese Communist party for decades, was one of its central leaders until his downfall during the Cultural Revolution.

Nixon's trip also coincided with the opening of the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Soviet Communist party in Moscow. It served as a forceful reminder of Peking's world role and partly overshadowed the opening of the Soviet party congress, at least in the American press.

Finally, Mao's invitation brought Nixon to Peking on the fourth anniversary of his first China visit, when Mao achieved his longtime goal of establishing diplomatic ties with American imperialism at the expense of the Soviet Union and a united front against the aggressive aims of world capitalism.

Perhaps Mao is only trying to show today that he is willing to deal with anybody, no matter how reactionary, if it fits in with the narrow nationalistic interests of the bureaucratic ruling caste. However, the main implication of the invitation to Nixon certainly seemed to be that Mao regards Ford and Kissinger as not belligerent enough in their attitude toward the Kremlin.

That was how the *New York Times* read Mao's main objective. "What would Chinese officialdom think," the editors asked February 24, "if the White House engineered a journey to the United States by Teng Hsiao-ping (on the assumption he could be found) as a means of administering a public rebuke to the present regime?"

On the other hand, Mao's message to the American ruling class was backed up by none other than the *Wall Street Journal*, which has reasons of its own for advocating greater military spending and a harder line toward Moscow.

In its February 20 editorial, the *Journal* suggested that "closer Sino-American relations have altered the world balance of power, presenting a formidable counterweight to Soviet expansion. But this accomplishment is jeopardized by the apparent inability of the United States to stand up to the

Soviets at Helsinki, in Angola, in the strategic arms negotiations and elsewhere."

In what way the American ruling class may turn Mao's move to account remains to be seen. As for the supporters of the Mao regime, they have tended to remain silent. For all their dexterity in defending "Mao Tsetung Thought," they find it difficult to paint up the reception given Nixon, the perpetrator of the most savage bombing campaign in history, as a victory for socialism.

What are the views of the Vietnamese, who suffered under Nixon's B-52 bombers and napalm? What about the millions throughout the world who took to the streets against the imperialist slaughter in Vietnam? What do they think of Mao's warm reception for the butcher?



'Custer's last stand'?

Rhodesia's racists under heavy pressure

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

Pressure is mounting against the white supremacist regime now ruling Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

In the wake of the setback to American and South African imperialism in Angola, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters have escalated their campaign to oust the colonial-settler regime of Ian Smith and to win Black majority rule.

At the same time, the American, British, and South African governments have stepped up efforts to engineer a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe before the struggle escapes control and threatens imperialist interests throughout southern Africa.

Beginning in February, the Zimbabwean guerrillas increased activity. This followed a recent influx of freedom fighters, who crossed into the country from camps in neighboring Mozambique.

Reporting from Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital, Martin Meredith said in the February 22 London *Sunday Times*, "The mountainous border region with Mozambique, which stretches for 800 miles, is ideal guerrilla territory. About 1,000 guerrillas have now infiltrated across the frontier, and the area of operation, once confined to the north-east, now extends to the south-east."

According to Meredith, Zimbabwean "sympathies lie overwhelmingly with the guerrillas." He added that "each week more disaffected black youths are leaving to join them."

The Smith regime is attempting to meet this growing challenge with force. The entire zone along the Mozambique border has been declared a "no-go" area, in which anyone can be shot on sight. The Rhodesians have built a 300-mile fence along the border, interspersing it with minefields.

A former Rhodesian soldier revealed in London February 26 that he had participated in a massacre of sixty African civilians.

Strategic hamlets

In addition to this use of terror against the Zimbabwean population, Salisbury has sought to isolate the guerrillas from their civilian supporters by forcibly resettling the rural population along the borders into so-called protected villages. In the Chiveshe Tribal Trust Land alone, the racist regime began in 1974 to herd an

estimated 60,000 inhabitants into such "protected villages."

These villages, based on the "strategic hamlet" concept employed by Washington in Vietnam, are surrounded by barbed wire and kept under constant armed guard. They are placed under dusk-to-dawn curfew and all inhabitants over the age of thirteen are required to register with the authorities. Rhodesian forces have used clubs and electric prods to move unwilling Zimbabweans.

The measures against the African population and against the guerrillas proved only partially effective, however. With the new rise of Zimbabwean resistance to white settler rule, the Smith regime has been forced to begin mobilizing the entire white population, which numbers only about 250,000, compared with more than 6 million Blacks.

Since the Rhodesian military has been unable to halt the movement of guerrillas into the country, it has resorted to preemptive strikes across the border into Mozambique.

On February 25, Salisbury announced that it had engaged in "hot pursuit" against a group of guerrillas. The raid against a base near Pafuri, Mozambique, reportedly took twenty-four lives. Rhodesian Defense Minister Pieter K. van der Byl defended this "hot pursuit" practice, calling it "time-hallowed."

The attack against the Pafuri base sparked a sharp reaction from the Mozambique regime. Calling it an "act of war," Mozambique President Samora Machel declared March 3 that he was closing Mozambique's border to all transportation and communication links with Rhodesia. He said the country was being placed on a war footing and ordered the seizure of all Rhodesian property in Mozambique, which included commercial transportation and storage facilities. A number of Rhodesian railway employees were arrested.

Following the Rhodesian attack on Pafuri, the *Times of Zambia*, a Lusaka daily owned by President Kenneth Kaunda's ruling United National Independence party, called on Zambians to prepare for war, declaring that "an attack on Mozambique is an attack on Zambia."

The blocking of the two rail lines between landlocked Rhodesia and the Mozambican ports of Beira and Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques), may be a serious blow to the Rhodesian economy. Because of the formal United Nations-sponsored economic embargo on the country, the Smith regime has kept its trade figures a secret. But it is estimated that at least 25 percent of Rhodesia's trade was transported through Mozambique at the time of the border closing.

White emigration

Although the impact of the Mozambique embargo on the Rhodesian economy may not be felt for a while, its effects on sagging white morale could be more immediate. Even before the current escalation of guerrilla actions, whites began to leave the country in greater numbers. According to official figures, 10,500 whites emigrated in 1975, the highest number since 1965.

Reporter James MacManus commented in the March 1 issue of the British daily *Guardian* that "many whites are having second thoughts about their role in a Rhodesian version of Custer's last stand."

One aim of the embargo was evidently to put more pressure on Smith in the negotiations he is conducting with a wing of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement.

Since mid-December 1975, Smith has been holding closed-door talks with a faction of the African National Coun-



White settlers face growing resistance from Blacks demanding self-determination. Above, farm children armed for an outing.

cil (ANC) led by Joshua Nkomo.

The present ANC was formed in December 1974 from a formal merger of the four main Zimbabwean nationalist groups: the Zimbabwe African People's Union led by Nkomo, the Zimbabwe African National Union led by Ndabaningi Sithole, the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe led by James Chikerema, and the old African National Council led by Abel Muzorewa.

In August 1975 the enlarged ANC split, with Nkomo gaining control of the ANC apparatus within Zimbabwe and with Sithole, Chikerema, and Muzorewa leading the ANC faction based outside of the country. Nkomo is the only one of the four leaders who has been allowed to function within Zimbabwe by the Rhodesian authorities.

So far, the Smith-Nkomo talks have been largely window dressing for Smith's attempts to stall for time. Although the details of the negotiations have not been revealed, Nkomo continues publicly to call for majority rule.

For the racist white settlers, however, the loss of political control would mean an end to their privileged social position, which is based on the dispossession and domination of the Zimbabwean population.

In his New Year's message, Smith proclaimed, "Unless the agreement guarantees the retention of government in civilized and responsible hands, not short-term, not medium-term, but for all time, then it is unacceptable and I shall have no part in it." Several weeks later he declared that "there can be no question of capitulation to demands for early black rule."

Nkomo has come under pressure from the other nationalist leaders, who have denounced his participation in the talks with Smith. Elliott M. Gabelah, a representative of the ANC faction opposed to Nkomo, declared in Salisbury February 6 that the negotiations were "a waste of time that will produce negative results."

Pressure from London

Still officially the colonial ruler of Rhodesia (no government in the world has recognized the settlers' 1965 declaration of "independence" from Britain), London has increased pressure on Smith during the past few weeks to make concessions to the Black majority before it is "too late." British officials have stressed the danger of a war in Zimbabwe spreading into a "general race war" throughout southern Africa, in which Britain has substantial economic and political interests.

To induce Smith to compromise, British officials have declared that London will not come to the white regime's rescue. London warned Salisbury February 18 that "no British government . . . would commit British troops on the continent of Africa in a war on behalf of the minority against the majority. It would be madness to do so." The February 21 London *Economist* commented that British military intervention was "liable to be misinterpreted by black Africans."

London, however, has not totally ruled out the possibility of sending troops to Zimbabwe. British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan told the House of Commons February 18 that troops might be sent if the Rhodesians accepted British sovereignty.

Dana Adams Schmidt reported in the March 4 *Christian Science Monitor* that should Smith accede to British authority, "David Ennals, the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs dealing with Africa, has told the British House of Commons that Britain might be willing to take [an] active hand in working out a new black-majority regime—and, if necessary, to defend the whites."

Washington has thrown its diplomatic weight behind London's efforts to avoid a "race war" in Zimbabwe. A State Department spokesman declared February 20, "We are calling on Mr. Smith and the white regime to negotiate realistically and seize what well may be their last opportunity for a negotiated settlement."

"Mr. Smith and his minority regime cannot have any illusions that Britain, or any other country for that matter, could be called upon to rescue or protect them from armed conflict."

While backing Britain's diplomatic efforts, Washington has at the same time warned that it would actively oppose any attempts by Moscow or Havana to become involved in the Zimbabwe conflict as they had in the Angolan civil war. In testimony before the House Committee on International Relations March 4, Kissinger warned the Cubans to "act with great circumspection because our actions cannot be deduced from what we did in Angola."

Two days later, Kissinger urged Smith to "show flexibility" in the negotiations and reminded the Rhodesian regime that "the time for settlement is now running out." He then returned to the timeworn theme of denouncing "outside agitators," saying, "We do not accept the proposition that Cuba has the right to intervene in this country."

His primary concern, however, is that a massive freedom struggle could emerge in Zimbabwe, escaping control of the traditional leadership.



Zimbabwe freedom fighter

Battles that paved the way

Labor upsurge of '30s: its lessons for today



Minneapolis, 1934. Striking Teamsters battle police and scabs.

By Andy Rose

"We are determined to eliminate the kind of tuxedo unionism some of our leaders have practiced in the past," says Ed Sadlowski.

"We want to give our union back to the membership; and we're determined to make our union the kind of progressive political force its founders intended it to be."

Sadlowski is director of United Steelworkers of America District 31, the Chicago-Gary district, and leader of a new movement called Steelworkers Fight Back.

In discussing his vision of the "tough, democratic labor movement" he says we need today, Sadlowski often refers to the heroic labor struggles of the past, and particularly to the formative years of the CIO in the 1930s.

This is indeed a rich history that the new generation of union militants can be proud of and learn from.

How was the CIO organized and led? What were its strengths? Its limitations? Perhaps most important, how did the insurgent mass movement that made the breakthrough to industrial unionism come to be conservatized and bureaucratized?

For supporters of Sadlowski's fight in the steelworkers union, and in other unions where the same kind of fight ought to be started, the answers to these questions are important. We need a clear picture of how the unions arrived at their present impasse in order to see what strategy is needed to move forward.

In this and future articles in the *Militant*, we'll look at the history of the United Steelworkers and other CIO unions, and the lessons of that history for today's struggles.

* * *

When the stock market crash of 1929 ushered in the era of the Great Depression, the American Federation of Labor encompassed only a tiny fraction of the labor force—less than three million workers. The AFL unions were divided along narrow craft lines, each one jealously guarding its particular jurisdiction.

The moribund heads of the AFL were no better than the AFL-CIO top officialdom today; in fact, they were not much different.

Their policies were geared to maintaining the relatively privileged position—higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions—of the skilled trades workers, the "aristocracy of labor." In return for gains for this thin layer of workers, the AFL apparatus acted to squelch the militancy and block the organization of the rest of the working class.

AFL President William Green and his fellow bureaucrats, like George Meany and his crew today, were staunch defenders of the capitalist order. They preached peaceful collaboration between labor and capital, opposed independent political action by the workers, and sought to avoid strikes at almost any cost.

They regarded the unskilled workers in the mass-production industries with open contempt. Teamster President Daniel Tobin boasted that his union did not include "the rubbish that have lately come into other organizations."

"We do not want to charter the riffraff or good-for-nothings," Tobin said. "... We do not want the men today if they are going on strike tomorrow."

Blacks excluded

The AFL leaders also served the interests of the employers by helping enforce the segregated, second-class status of Blacks.

Black workers were either excluded outright by the craft unions or segregated into separate locals with restricted rights.

The banner of industry-wide organization had for many years been carried by the radicals, the socialist-minded workers. They looked to the growing masses of unskilled and lower-paid workers as potentially the best fighters and leaders.

One of the first issues of the *Militant*, on February 15, 1929, warned of the impending economic crisis and declared:

"The main reservoir of labor militancy is the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the unorganized,

basic industries. The full horror of the capitalist rationalization [that is, greater mechanization and speedup] falls directly upon them, and the attacks of the capitalists in the present depression and coming crisis strike them first and hardest."

The task of class-conscious workers, the *Militant* said, was to turn to these unorganized masses and "lead in the work of organizing them into new industrial unions."

Failure of AFL policies

When the full fury of the economic storm hit, the policies of narrow craft unionism and collaboration with the bosses failed utterly. Millions of workers were laid off, wages were cut across the board, while the AFL leaders stood by as though paralyzed.

The initial shock of the depression was so great as to dampen nearly all organized struggle by the workers. But by 1933, labor militancy was clearly on the rise. A wave of strikes broke out among clothing workers, auto workers, miners, and others. Union recognition and opposition to wage cuts were top issues.

These strikes without exception were either sold out by the AFL leaders or smashed by court injunctions and armed violence.

John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers, and some of the other top AFL leaders knew that the old craft union policies were leading to disaster. But they dared not go directly to the union ranks and the unorganized workers to actually launch the fight.

They put forward motions at the 1933 and 1934 AFL conventions for industry-wide organization, and Lewis made eloquent speeches calling for a new policy. But when their appeals were voted down, they stopped short. The impetus had to come from below.

1934 strikes: turning point

Then, in 1934, three victorious strikes broke through the pattern of defeats. The truck drivers in Minneapolis, auto-parts workers in Toledo, and maritime workers in San Francisco gave the American working class unforgettable lessons in how to con-

front the employers and the capitalist government—and win.

Radicals were the key leaders in all three strikes. In Minneapolis, it was the revolutionary socialists of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers party. In Toledo, it was members of the American Workers party, led by A.J. Muste. (By the end of the year these two groups had fused.)

The San Francisco strike was led by union militants influenced by the Communist party, just before the Stalinized CP made its turn to all-out support for Roosevelt.

Although all three unions involved were AFL affiliates, these strikes were a sharp break from the "business unionism" methods of the AFL. They were conducted in defiance of capitalist order, against court injunctions, the police, and the National Guard.

The workers pioneered new methods of struggle. In Minneapolis, they fielded roving picket squads and published a daily strike newspaper. (The full story of the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes is told by Farrell Dobbs, a central strike leader, in *Teamster Rebellion*. See ad below.)

Much of the strength of these strikes flowed from their success in spreading the struggle and involving large sections of the working class. They inspired and won the support of the unorganized and the unemployed.

In Toledo, for example, reinforcements from the Unemployed League were the key to defeating an antistrike injunction with picket lines of up to 10,000 workers.

Workers on the march

The workers were on the march. They were radicalizing. In some areas they had a class-conscious, revolutionary leadership.

It was the specter of this mass movement surging beyond the control of the union officialdom—possibly even challenging the capitalist system itself—that finally compelled a section of the AFL bureaucracy to act.

Charles Howard, president of the International Typographical Union, warned the October 1935 AFL convention:

"Now, let us say to you that the workers of this country are going to organize, and if they are not permitted to organize under the banner of the American Federation of Labor they are going to organize under some other leadership. . . ."

"I submit to you," Howard said, "that it would be a far more serious problem for our government, for the people of this country, and for the American Federation of Labor itself than if our organization policies should be so molded that we can organize them and bring them under the leadership of this organization."

When the convention refused to heed Howard's appeal, and once again voted down industrial unionism, John L. Lewis and officials of seven other unions finally made the decisive break. They announced the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Their stated purpose was "to

Continued on page 30

Further reading on—

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

Narrow defeat in representation vote

Union charges illegal tactics by Columbia

By Ruth Cheney

NEW YORK—The final outcome of the union representation election for the clerical staff at Columbia University will not be certain for several weeks.

In the February 18 election, 342 employees voted for representation by District 65, Distributive Workers of America; 409 voted for no union; and 255 challenged votes were sealed and not counted.

Of these, about 150 were challenged by the union because those voting were believed to be supervisors or managers not eligible to vote.

Ruth Cheney is a clerical worker at Columbia University and an activist in the District 65 Organizing Committee.

Since the challenged ballots could change the final tally, the National Labor Relations Board must rule on them before the results can be made final.

The election was preceded by a month of active campaigning by the university and by the District 65 Organizing Committee. Union activists were optimistic at first because of the strong base of support for the union: some 50 percent of the eligible workers had already signed pledge cards for the union.

It quickly became apparent, however, that the administration was going on an all-out campaign to stop the union. In the final two weeks before the election, Columbia distributed more than thirty pages of statements designed to prejudice workers against the union and intimidate them into voting no.

District 65 filed official objections to the election with the NLRB on February 23. Among the charges filed by the

union are "the distribution of false and misleading literature; the unlawful removal from campus of employees who were legally leafleting during nonworking hours; the appearance to vote, under Administration orders, of a large number of clearly ineligible persons who were not on the list; and incidents of possible harassment and intimidation of employees."

Columbia clerical workers on the organizing committee, none of whom had gone through a union election before, had not anticipated the extent of the bosses' malicious campaign against the union.

The personnel office was transformed into a campaign center for the administration. Offices in all Columbia buildings were telephoned repeatedly and supervisors were questioned about how many "yes" voters they had persuaded to vote no.

During the two weeks before the election, the administration organized captive audience meetings during work hours at which university officers told people to vote no. The scare tactics included dire warnings that the union would subject people to strikes, high dues payments, initiation fees, and assessments.

The administration tried, with some success, to convince workers their meager existing benefits would end if the union won. Older workers were especially victimized by threats that their newly improved pension plan would be endangered.

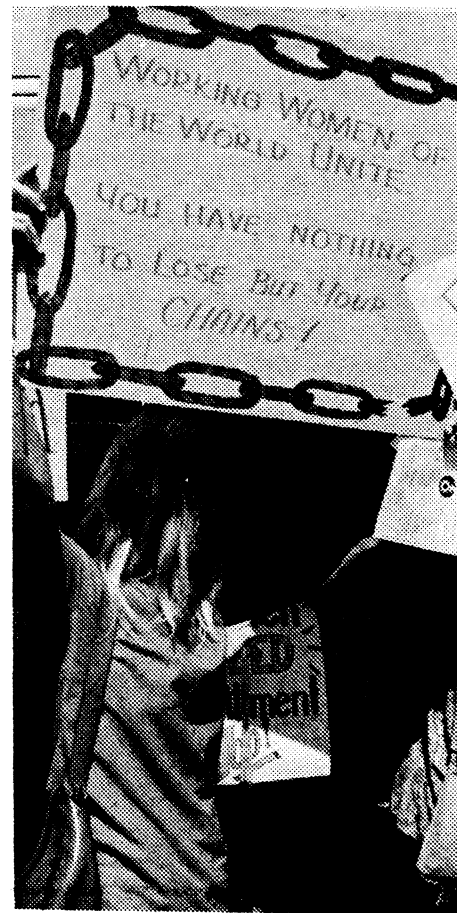
In the face of this propaganda barrage, the union tended to be put on the defensive in its own election campaign. It had to make a major effort simply to rebut the administration's lying and distorted "facts."

The organizing committee mailed out answers to most of the administration's charges. They distributed litera-

ture, talked with people, and organized lunch-time meetings in several buildings.

An article written by union supporters was published by the campus newspaper, and a full-page advertisement for the union, signed by more than 130 workers, appeared the day before the election.

In addition to the administration's attack, the unionization drive was up against a major problem beyond the



Militant/John Gray
Women's liberation movement helped spark organizing efforts by clerical workers.

organizing committee's control. The New York City budget crisis was repeatedly brought up by workers who questioned what good unions were doing for their members who worked for the city.

It was a hard question to answer. Officials of the city's major unions have sacrificed their members' jobs, wages, and benefits to the austerity program demanded by their Democratic party "allies." Many working people no longer see the union movement as a dynamic, reliable fighter for their needs.

It is a compelling example of how the hasty retreat by public employee unions before the antilabor offensive handicaps the entire union movement.

It is in this light that the election results at Columbia should be viewed. With all that was going against the union, the margin of defeat was narrow. A shift of thirty-five voters would have changed the outcome.

The organizing committee, with the backing of hundreds of campus workers, remains firmly convinced that the union movement is the only force that can protect our standard of living in these times of inflation, unemployment, and social service cutbacks. Least of all can we rely on the good graces of the Columbia administration.

The weaknesses of the labor movement today must be corrected by the workers. We can and we will make the unions into fighting instruments for our needs. But to do so we have to be in the unions.

The organizing committee is continuing its weekly meetings. The focus now is on collecting documentation from workers to prove the union's charges against the university's illegal tactics.

A discussion is just beginning on how to continue to build support for the union. We are already looking toward the next election.

Ohio unionists discuss civil rights issues

By Jean Tussey

COLUMBUS, Ohio—A recent Ohio labor conference on civil rights gives a good picture of the discussion going on in the union movement on such major issues as busing and job discrimination.

The gathering, held here February 9-12, was the Sixth Biennial Civil Rights Conference of the Ohio AFL-CIO, cosponsored with the national AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

Four hundred men and women from local unions throughout the state attended. At least 60 percent were Black union stewards, officers, civil rights committee members, and delegates.

Although less than one-fourth of the delegates were women, this was a larger proportion than usual at these conferences, which have only recently begun to deal with sex discrimination.

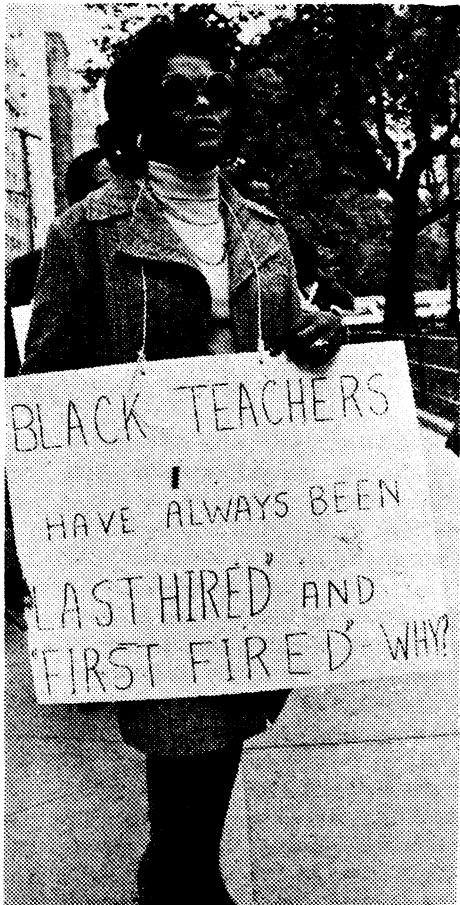
Keynote speaker at a banquet opening the conference was Gloria Johnson, director of education and women's activities of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and national treasurer of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Johnson traced the history of the gains women have won through struggle, emphasizing that many changes are still needed to achieve equality:

- Despite laws against sex discrimination in employment, the earnings gap between male and female workers

continues to widen. Full-time working women earn only 60 percent of the wages of their male counterparts.

- Today, as in the past, women are



Militant/Lou Howart
Layoffs by strict seniority are wiping out job gains of minorities and women.

relegated to the lowest-paying jobs, with little or no opportunity for advancement.

- The unemployment rate for women was 35 percent higher than for men last year.

- Less than five million of the thirty-six million women in the work force are organized in unions, which weakens both the labor movement and the struggle of women.

"When women achieve equality, the whole labor movement is elevated," Johnson said.

The next day the delegates heard a panel of speakers on the development of union policies, under the civil rights laws, to correct discriminatory employment practices.

Carole Jeffries, staff attorney for the IUE in Washington, D.C., discussed how seniority and affirmative action should be viewed.

Unionists should be fighting to end job discrimination, she said, because "the basic purpose of unionism is to fight for equal rights and justice." And despite union claims of nonresponsibility for ending job discrimination, "If you want to do it, you've got the power to do it."

It is the union's responsibility to use the civil rights laws to protect its members, including eliminating "discriminatory systems of seniority," Jeffries said.

William Pollard, director of the national AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department, also addressed the seniority

issue. He tried to duck the fact that layoffs by strict seniority are wiping out job gains made by women and minorities.

Pollard acknowledged that if a seniority system "discriminates against women and minorities, it is illegal. The courts have said so."

But he made it clear there has been no change in the AFL-CIO's opposition to modifying seniority to maintain the proportion of women and minorities on the job.

Trying to shift the argument, Pollard said, "The real problem is unemployment. We must not allow our enemies to divide us on the basis of race and sex." But he failed to say what the AFL-CIO would or could do about "the real problem," either.

Finally, conference sessions on education and busing heard speakers from the AFL-CIO, NAACP, and school administrations. Speakers emphasized the AFL-CIO's support for busing where it is necessary to achieve school desegregation.

Support to antibusing actions violates AFL-CIO national policy, and local or state AFL-CIO councils that support such violations are subject to sanctions, including revocation of their charters.

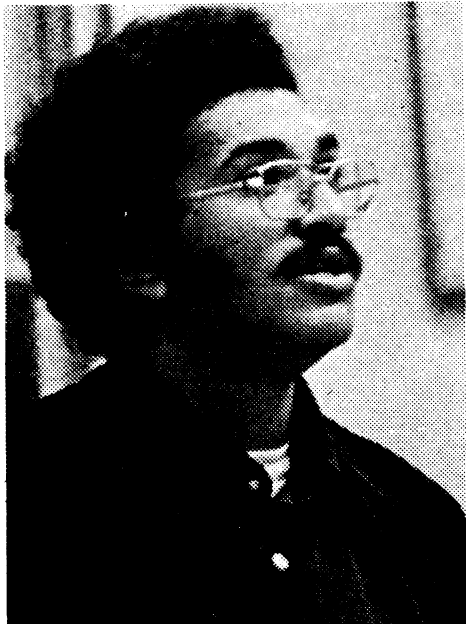
Much of this discussion dealt with how unions can help implement court-ordered desegregation to avoid violence against schoolchildren such as that in Boston and Louisville.

Socialists speak on civil war

Tour spurs sales of new book on Angola

By Karen Melville

NEW YORK—How and why did the U.S. government get involved in the Angolan civil war? What are the origins and aims of the different nationalist groups in Angola? Is the MPLA a revolutionary socialist organization?



Militant/Harry Ring
SWP's MALIK MIAH: 'Pathfinder Press book is only one in print dealing with civil war and events leading to it.'

These are some of the questions answered in *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War* written by Tony Thomas and Ernest Harsch and just published by Pathfinder Press.

Tony Thomas and Malik Miah, members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, are on national speaking tours opposing U.S. intervention in the Angolan civil war. Both are enthusiastic about the response to the book.

"The Pathfinder Press book is the only one in print dealing with the civil war and the events leading to it," noted Miah. "It contains much material that has not been available anywhere else. Many people have factual questions about the civil war. They want to know what is happening and why, and this is the only book available that can answer their questions."

Sales have been good in the two weeks the book has been available. Socialist bookstores have ordered more than 600 copies so far, and another 1,300 copies have been ordered by other bookstores.

The Militant Bookstore in Milwaukee sold twelve copies of the book during Tony Thomas's one-day tour stop there. Nine were sold at a meeting of forty students on the University of



Militant/Dave Warren
TONY THOMAS: Coauthor of 'Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War.'

Wisconsin campus, attended by members of the campus Black Student Union and a local Black community organization.

About ten copies were sold in each

city during Thomas's stops in Detroit, Vancouver, and Seattle.

In Brooklyn, five copies of the book were sold from a socialist literature table in the downtown shopping area in one afternoon. Marc Lichtman, who worked on the table, said, "It wasn't hard to sell. In fact, I had to go get extra copies because people were so interested in buying the book. We usually don't sell more than two or three of any one book in an afternoon."

At Rutgers University in Newark, Young Socialist Alliance members have had many advance requests for the book and expect it to be the center of a lot of discussion among Black and other campus activists.

In addition, Pathfinder sales representatives have found that the book is of interest to retail and college bookstores they've visited recently. Sales representatives have placed more than 500 copies in stores so far.

You can participate in the campaign to make this book as widely read as possible by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or by visiting one of the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory. Pathfinder is offering *Militant* readers a special price of five copies for \$10.00. Single copies can be ordered for \$2.45.

Md. students rap Democrat on budget cuts

By Gordon Fox

BALTIMORE—Students at the University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC) campus here turned a Democratic politician's campaign speech into a demonstration against tuition hikes and cutbacks in faculty.

Board of regents member Joseph Tydings, a former two-term U.S. senator, is now a candidate for the Democratic nomination for Senate. He hoped to whip up support for his campaign on campus at a February 25 meeting.

Instead, 300 students chanting, "No cuts, no way!" picketed outside Tydings's speech and then went inside to question him. Surprised at the size of the demonstration, Tydings requested that a student spokesperson present the students' point of view.

Doug Topolski, a leader of the Student Coalition Against Tuition Hikes, obliged: "Mr. Tydings claims to be in favor of students, and he claims to be in favor of the University of Maryland itself. Yet you, Mr. Tydings, voted to raise our tuition by sixty dollars a year, and you, as a board member, are responsible for the faculty cuts. We'd like to know why."

Topolski added, "We oppose any cuts and tuition hikes whatsoever. Education is a right for all, not a privilege for a few who can afford inflated tuition rates."

Tydings responded that it was his "duty" to vote for the tuition hike, in order to keep the university open.

Asked if he would vote in the U.S. Senate to cut the war budget to fund education, the Democrat said: "I have a record of trying to keep the defense system honest. But if you think I'm going to go down there and cut out a third of the defense budget, or the whole defense budget, you're wrong."

Hundreds in the audience countered by chanting, "They've got the money, we're no fools; take it from the Pentagon, give it to the schools."

The February 25 demonstration had a major impact. The February 27 *Evening Sun*, a major paper in this city, featured a cartoon on the editorial page that portrayed a distressed Tydings facing angry student demonstrators by saying, "Haven't you people gotten the new word? The system's *in*, protesting's *out*!"



...which way for Blacks in '76 elections?

Continued from page 9

subordinating the struggle for a Black party to the preservation of "unity" with Black elected officials like Delums and Conyers, the NBA will contribute to the process of building the political power of Black people.

But we can't build an independent Black party by saying we need to run an "independent" for president, but it's fine to run as a Democrat in Detroit or Berkeley. We should tell the Conyerses and the Dellumses and the Bonds: "If you are serious about supporting Black people, you have to leave the Democratic party, which is the enemy of everything we are fighting for."

Nor does the proposal being presented to the Cincinnati conference include a platform for the campaign. In fact, the Cincinnati convention will not

even determine the entire platform, but only the "Black" planks.

The rest will be decided by a body called the National Committee for Peoples Politics (NCPP), which is projected to become the national campaign committee for this "independent" Black campaign.

NBA leaders are trying to involve in this such groups as the Mass Party Organizing Committee, headed by radical lawyer Arthur Kinoy, the New American Movement, the People's party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist party. Only the Kinoy group has so far agreed to participate.

According to NBA leader Mtangulizi Sanyika, who is also NCPP national director, the NCPP will be responsible for getting the presidential ticket on

the ballot. It will also select the vice-presidential candidate (who may be white), and has the authority to revise the part of the platform decided on in Cincinnati.

In other words, what is being planned is a bloc between the NBA and some radical groups around a program that can only turn out to be a hodgepodge of different approaches. Instead of appealing to and trying to mobilize the Black community around a clear program of demands and action, and looking to the Black community for the forces needed to organize such efforts as getting on the ballot, the NBA seems to be hoping that a collection of radical groups held together by a vague program can provide a quick and easy road forward.

While this may appear to be a

shortcut to a Black political party, in reality it's a dead end.

The Cincinnati convention could make a positive contribution if it begins the process of hammering out a program and a plan of action that can advance the struggle for Black liberation.

We need to discuss such questions as how the NBA can help organize for the April 24 march on Boston for school desegregation and how the NBA can organize the fight for jobs and against racist discrimination.

In developing such a program and action perspective to deal with the burning problems of the Black community—problems the capitalist parties can't solve—we will be on the right road to building the independent Black political party we urgently need.

Building the Socialist Workers party.

Winning new members: what St. Louis learned

By Doug Jenness

During the first week of March, the St. Louis branch of the Socialist Workers party added ten new members to its rolls. They were admitted as provisional members, a new category initiated by the party two months ago to help encourage prospective members to become more familiar with the party while making a more definite commitment of membership.

Peter Seidman, the branch organizer in St. Louis, reports that this is only the beginning, and that there are a number of other people who are likely to join soon.

The experience in St. Louis is of special interest because for a period of five months the branch had not won any new members.

This wasn't because there weren't any people around who had respect for the party and were thinking about socialist ideas. On the contrary, Seidman reports that the party has won wide respect for its energetic defense of J.B. Johnson, a victim of a local racist frame-up; its support for the ERA; and its election campaigns. And the party has consistently held weekly public forums with twenty to thirty non-party-members attending.

The problem, he relates, is that "we were so caught up in the day-to-day activity of organizing meetings and actions that we didn't take time to stand back for a minute and systematically invite people we were working with to join the party."

He says, "When we recognized this we established a committee of three leading branch members to head up a drive to bring in new members."

"We made adjustments in other assignments to make this possible, and we systematically had reports and organized this work on a top-priority basis."

Some of the new members are also members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Others were attracted to the party by its election campaign, forums, and defense of J.B. Johnson. One of the new members, a Black bus driver and a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union, sold twelve subscrip-



International Women's Day demonstration in St. Louis. Ten new members joined SWP branch during first week of March.

tions to the *Militant* during his first week as a member.

The recruitment committee now has a long list of other prospective members, especially in the Black community, with whom it is organizing discussions.

With this increased membership the branch is now considering the possibility of establishing another branch in St. Louis in order to root itself more deeply in the working class there and to facilitate recruitment of more members. It is also thinking out ways of helping to lay the basis for setting up branches in East St. Louis and Kansas City.

As a preliminary step it is organizing teams to sell *Militant* subscriptions in housing projects in St. Louis and East St. Louis.

St. Louis is not an exceptional city, and the development of the SWP there isn't unique. In January and February the party nationally admitted about 125 provisional members. Since its national convention six months ago, the party has established new branches in San Jose, Baltimore,

Newark, Dallas, San Antonio, New Orleans, and Oakland, California, and in the next couple of weeks branches will be established in St. Paul and Richmond, Virginia.

In some cities larger branches have divided into smaller branches that are part of a city-wide local organization. Multibranch locals have been established in New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Seattle, Washington, D.C., Boston, and San Francisco, and their formation is being discussed by the branches in Atlanta, Houston, and St. Louis.

This expansion of the SWP confirms the assessment in "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution," the major resolution adopted at the party's last convention. This resolution states that we are on "the threshold of a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the American working class."

The convention delegates recognized that the new political opportunities opening up as a result of the changing political situation offer excellent pros-

pects for the growth and increased influence of the party. They decided to launch a major turn toward the radicalizing sectors of the working class, especially the oppressed national minorities. The description of the changes in St. Louis and other cities reflects the party's first steps toward making this turn.

Because the party's activity is based on its overall estimation of the political situation, the St. Louis branch has established classes for its new members to study the "Prospects for a Socialist Revolution" document.

Whether you are a new reader of the *Militant* or a longtime reader who is wondering what is happening in the world, the resolution is "must" reading for you too.

It explains why capitalism is entering an explosive international crisis and why this will drive the working class into mass struggle, opening the road to a socialist revolution; and it outlines the strategy for fighting for socialism. It concludes by explaining that a mass socialist party is necessary to win the struggle for socialism. The SWP aspires to become that party and invites anyone who agrees with its basic goals to join.

Join the SWP

- ☐ I want to join the SWP
- ☐ Please send more information
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a ten-week introductory subscription to the *Militant*
- ☐ Please send me a copy of "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution"

Name _____

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

How Brooklyn SWP is reaching Black workers

By Nancy Fields

In October, the Brooklyn branch of the Socialist Workers party launched the campaign of Pat Wright for Congress in the Fourteenth District.

The 14th C.D. is populated largely by Black and Puerto Rican workers. Because of the racist nature of the recent cutbacks in city services it has been one of the hardest-hit areas in the city. Unemployment stands at 40 percent.

Our aim was to reach the workers who live there with the socialist solution to the layoffs and cutbacks. One way we found to do this was through door-to-door distribution of campaign literature and sales of the *Militant*.

I will concentrate on our work in one housing project, Lindsey Park Houses, a Mitchell-Lama (city-state financed) cooperative in the Williamsburg section. It was here that we began to gain a base of supporters for the Wright campaign and to attract new people to the SWP.

The Wright campaign already had one supporter at Lindsey Park, a Black woman who had attended National Student Coalition Against Racism activities and forums on the Equal Rights Amendment. She wanted to work on the campaign, so Lindsey Park was a logical place to start.

When we knocked on the door of an apartment, we introduced ourselves as

members of the Brooklyn Socialist Workers Campaign Committee:

"We are running in this district against the Democrats and Republicans. Our candidate is Pat Wright, a Black worker who opposes the cutbacks and rent increases. We would like to talk to you."

We showed people the New York Socialist Workers program, "Why working people should not pay," and discussed our proposals.



Brooklyn SWP congressional candidate Pat Wright sells the 'Militant' at recent anticutbacks protest.

We would then introduce the *Militant* as the newspaper with the best coverage of the socialist campaign. Usually, a team of three could sell thirty copies in about an hour.

We discovered that most of the tenants were unionists, belonging to some of the most important unions in the city. The campaign found the best response among the young Black workers.

A team of two to four people began to campaign regularly and developed a mailing list of tenants who wanted to learn more about the campaign and to help out if they could.

Our campaign supporter held a successful reception for SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid in her apartment. Almost all of the twenty young Black workers who attended signed up to support the campaign.

In January, the Brooklyn SWP divided into two new branches: Downtown Brooklyn and East Flatbush.

We agreed that continuing the work in Lindsey Park around the Wright campaign and sales of the *Militant* would be a central activity of the Downtown Brooklyn branch.

Since the division, results of campaigning at Lindsey Park, as reflected in sales of the *Militant*, have been excellent. In six weeks, 233 single copies and ten subscriptions have been sold there.

We have also begun a series of basic classes on socialism at the home of our former campaign supporter—who is now a provisional member of the SWP. Four new campaign supporters attended the first class. Each wants to work on the campaign and involve friends in the classes and other activities.

The East Flatbush branch has begun to campaign at the Ebbets Field co-ops in Crown Heights. Many of the tenants there are Black and Puerto Rican workers, a large percentage of whom are trade unionists as well as recently laid-off city employees.

Here too, the response to the socialist campaign and to the *Militant* has been excellent. Since mid-January, 175 single copies and twelve subscriptions have been sold—42 *Militants* and four subscriptions last Saturday alone.

The Ebbets Field Tenants Council recently invited Pat Wright to speak at one of their meetings. The council president told the audience of about 100 tenants that she was pleased to see their struggle gaining the support of groups like the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

The Downtown Brooklyn and East Flatbush campaign committees are now making plans for spring activities. Both committees welcome all campaign supporters to bring their ideas and to work on the Wright campaign.

Calendar

BOSTON

WINNING THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: A DISCUSSION OF STRATEGY AND TACTICS. Speakers: a representative of Committee to Ratify the Massachusetts ERA; Judy Berkowitz, Women's Center, Univ. of Mass., Boston; Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Fourth Floor (Kenmore Sq., MBTA). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4260.

BROOKLYN

CRISIS IN EDUCATION. Speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; Ralph Boozer, Grady H.S. student. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

SOCIALISM: WHAT IT IS. The first of a weekly discussion series about socialism. Host: Joanne Haensgen, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D. Sat., March 13, 3 p.m. Univ. of Houston Univ. Center, Castellan Room. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEWARK

CUTBACKS IN EDUCATION. A panel discussion. Speakers: Prof. Erwin Nack, president, American Federation of Teachers local, Paterson State College; Manny Menendez, Montclair State College student body president; Richie Ariza, Rutgers Organizing Committee Against the Cutbacks coordinator, Newark; others. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 11A Central Ave. (near Broad). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 624-7434.

NEW ORLEANS

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Sat., March 27. Buffet, 6 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 1800 Jefferson Ave. Donation: buffet and rally—\$3; rally only—\$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK CITY

HEARTS AND MINDS. A film. Wed., March 17 and Thurs., March 18, 8 p.m. both evenings. John Jay College, 444 W. 59th St. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña. For more information call (212) 473-8564.

ST. LOUIS

WELFARE RIGHTS UNDER ATTACK—HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Speakers: Classie Leonard, South Side Welfare Rights Organization; others. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Room 12. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. A weekly discussion of socialism. *What went wrong in the Soviet Union?* Sat., March 20, 3 p.m.; Wed., March

24, 7:30 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT GRAND OPENING SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS AND THE SOCIALIST BOOKSTORE/LIBRERIA SOCIALISTA. Speaker: Juan Martínez, SWP candidate for state senate, Fifth District. Sat., March 20. Open house, 2-6:30 p.m.; buffet dinner, 6:30 p.m.; talk, 8:00 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Ausp: Socialist Bookstore. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

...BEO's

Continued from page 8

organize sustained protests and a movement in the Black community against any layoffs and cutbacks.

Silence, inaction, and outright cooperation in the face of these assaults are examples of the trade-off—the pact—demanded of Black Democratic and Republican officials by white party leaders in return for prestige and backing at the polls. Such silence, inaction, and cooperation make the need for *independent* Black political opposition to the practices of the Democratic and Republican big-business parties—at the ballot box and in the streets—all the more clear.

...labor

Continued from page 26

encourage and promote organization of the workers in the mass production and unorganized industries."

In his book *Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO*, Art Preis—who for many years was labor editor of the *Militant*—wrote of these AFL leaders:

"In later years they were to picture themselves as the creators of a mighty movement, who built the CIO solely out of their own powers. This is the way it may have seemed. They were, however, merely like surfboard riders on the crest of a wave; the power and motion were in the wave and they had learned to ride it."

The AFL-CIO officialdom today is just as contemptuous and suspicious of

the union ranks as their counterparts in the AFL of the early 1930s. The interests of the Black workers, the women workers, and the unorganized are of no concern to these well-heeled bureaucrats.

But it will be militant, massive action by the rank and file—in the best tradition of Minneapolis, Toledo, and San Francisco—that will break the labor movement out of its present stagnation and take the next big steps forward.

* * *

One of the most enduring myths about the rise of the CIO is that the right to organize was "given" to labor by Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the next article we will look at the role of the Democratic party and Roosevelt's "New Deal," and tell about the battles that put the CIO auto workers and steelworkers unions on the map.

...Camejo

Continued from page 14

actions of these politicians are not the result of some individual flaw or misunderstanding. The real problem is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are dedicated to upholding capitalist profits and the profit system.

And in this new period of world economic crisis, the profit system *demand*s reduction of social services and attacks on working people. That is the voice the Democratic and Republican politicians heed—while of course welcoming money and endorsement from unions foolish enough to offer them.

The biggest obstacle working people must overcome to challenge these antilabor policies is the myth that the two-party system offers the only "realistic" options. In fact, there is nothing realistic about continuing to vote for representatives of the ruling rich to govern us.

The real question is: do workers have any alternative? I believe so.

The NEA and the American Federation of Teachers together represent

more than two million teachers. The entire organized labor movement encompasses well over twenty million workers.

Labor has the organization, resources, and voting strength to be a powerful, *independent* political force. Labor can and should organize its own political party that will run working men and women for office on a program that puts our interests first—the interests of the majority—not corporate profits.

The appeal of a labor party would not be limited to union members. It would quickly win the support of millions upon millions of unorganized and unemployed workers and of all the victims of discrimination and oppression under capitalism.

It could mobilize the vast majority of the people in the United States in a fight to defend our rights and our standard of living against the attacks of the ruling rich. Such a party would be a big step toward bringing to power a workers government, a government that would put top priority on human needs rather than private profits. It would be a big step toward a socialist society that would end war, racism, sexual oppression, and exploitation—opening up a new era of the greatest human freedom and creativity.

My running mate, Willie Mae Reid, and I are campaigning for this perspective of independent labor political action. On that basis, I believe that teachers should support our campaign—even if you do not agree with every plank in our platform—as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Democracy & Revolution

By George Novack

286 pp., \$10.00, paper \$2.95

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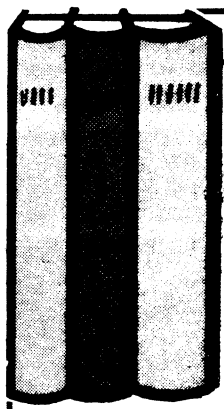
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Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas
Edited with an introduction by Malik Miah



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Tony Thomas and Malik Miah are touring the United States and Canada speaking on the independence struggle and the civil war. Their tour is part of the continuing campaign by the Socialist Workers Party against U.S. intervention.

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NEW YORK CITY—LOWER EAST SIDE

Festival!

SATURDAY, MARCH 20. Celebrate the Socialist Workers party's campaign in the Lower East Side! Rally speakers: Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress, 18th Congressional District; Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Gregory Banks, member, SWP; and District One activists. Rally; 7 p.m.; party to follow with live entertainment, dancing, and refreshments. 290 E. 4th St. (between Avenues B & C, at Bracetti Houses). Donation: \$2. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

Sponsored by: Lower East Side Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee—chairperson, Katherine Sojourner; treasurer, Naomi Vega.

SAN ANTONIO

Texas Socialist Rally & Barbecue

SATURDAY, MARCH 20. Speakers: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president; Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Reception, 6 p.m.; barbecue dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Sonny's Barbecue, 102 Fredricksburg Rd. (at N. Flores), San Antonio. Donation: \$3 for dinner and rally; \$1 for rally only. For more information call San Antonio (512) 732-5957; Houston (713) 526-1082; Dallas (214) 827-6589; or Austin (512) 474-9789.

Sponsored by: Texas Socialist Workers Campaign Committee—chairperson, Dan Fein; treasurer, Lester Lantz.

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The *Militant* is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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More strikes sweep Spain

Basques rebel against murderous cop attack

By Steve Clark

A massive general strike swept through the oppressed Basque provinces in northern Spain March 8, while thousands of workers and students staged solidarity strikes and assemblies in Madrid.

The protests came in response to the killings of several Basque workers in the city of Vitoria the previous week.

"Labor sources said the strike brought out 250,000 Basques in the biggest stoppage in the north since the 1936-39 civil war," according to a Reuters dispatch from Bilbao. Other estimates ranged as high as half a million.

Eighteen-year-old Vincente Ferrero, a metalworker participating in the strike, was shot through the head by Spain's paramilitary Civil Guards, as they dispersed a crowd of demonstrators near the Basque city of Bilbao. Ten thousand workers rallied the following day, pledging to continue their strike "until the police explain this atrocity."

Other attacks occurred throughout the Basque region. According to Reuters, "Shots, tear gas and rubber bullets were fired by security forces in Bilbao, the heartland of Spain's heavy industry, and riot police with clubs charged 2000 demonstrators in San Sebastian."

Massacre in Vitoria

This current round of protests grew out of a two-month-long strike by 5,000 Vitoria steelworkers. Employers answered the workers' wage demands by firing strike leaders.

On March 3 an estimated 80 percent of Vitoria's work force staged a general strike in support of the striking steelworkers. "Thousands of workers surged through the city in a effort to close it down completely," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger reported.

Police attacked the demonstrators and arrested picketers outside shops that had remained open. Reinforcements were called in from nearby provinces to help quell the strikers.

According to Giniger, "When 3,000 workers gathered in a church in late afternoon, the police fired smoke bombs and tear gas to dislodge them. The workers rushed out and in the ensuing melee the police opened fire."

The groups that called the March 3 protest say that six people were killed in the assault and that more than 100 were wounded. Government sources and most newspapers list four deaths.

"The hospitals quickly filled with injured," Giniger said, "and when a group of women gathered at the general hospital to make inquiries, the police attacked there as well, according to an account in the local newspaper."

"The newspaper said tear gas was fired into operating rooms and emergency wards."

Solidarity protests

The murders in Vitoria touched off strikes and demonstrations in the Basque cities of Pamplona, Bilbao, and San Sebastian. Protests also occurred in Barcelona, Madrid, and at several universities. Authorities tried to break up most of these demonstrations.



Basque workers packed Vitoria cathedral March 5 to honor three strikers gunned down by Juan Carlos's police during general strike two days earlier.

During the weeks prior to the killings, major strike struggles had broken out among truck drivers, bakery workers, teachers, nontenured professors, and construction workers. Campuses throughout Spain also continued to be centers of opposition to the regime of King Juan Carlos.

Since the death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco last November, his handpicked successor has failed to widen political freedom in Spain. Trade unions and political parties are still illegal, for example.

Juan Carlos has also imposed an unpopular wage freeze; denied amnesty to most political prisoners; and refused to grant any real autonomy to the oppressed Basque and Catalan nationalities, whose languages and cultures constantly fall victim to Madrid's chauvinism.

Reform?

The new king claims that he has put Spain on the path toward "orderly" democratization, but his cabinet's statement on the Vitoria murders shows what these promises are worth.

The statement, issued March 5, said that the actions of the Vitoria police were "directed toward protecting the exercise of individual freedom." It called the Vitoria general strike "a clear attempt to hinder the program of reform that the Spanish people desire and which the Government is not disposed to abandon."

At the same time, activity among hardline veterans of Franco's iron-fisted dictatorship has also picked up in recent weeks. These forces—who hold high positions in the government and military

and are honeycombed throughout the state apparatus—are steadfastly opposed to even the most minor reforms of Spain's fascist structure.

Five masked rightists kidnapped the editor of a liberal Madrid magazine March 1 and forced him to denounce his own publication. The thugs warned him that he would be killed if he remained in Spain.

Cambio-16, a newsweekly that has criticized the pace of Madrid's reform measures, received a bomb March 6, but the device was discovered before it exploded.

A helping hand

Meanwhile, Washington has been doing its best to help Madrid spruce up its image around the world.

Ambassador-at-Large Robert McCloskey appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the day of the Vitoria massacre to urge congressional approval of a proposed treaty with Madrid strengthening its ties with the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

McCloskey told the senators that Juan Carlos "has made a good start" toward democratizing Spain and "taken a number of steps" for the release of political prisoners.

He added, "It is impossible to change history overnight."

Maybe so. But the events of the past several weeks leave no doubt that workers and students throughout Spain intend to "change history" just as fast as they possibly can.